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ABSTRACT

Adjustment of American Indians to a major urban institution, exemplified by public schools, and adaptations to urban life in general were examined, using data collected between 1965 and 1969, and focusing on intensive observations of 24 randomly-selected American Indian students (19 high school, 5 elementary) attending East San Francisco Bay Area public schools during 1968-69. Most students were adjusted to school; only three were unadjusted. Emotionally-supportive relationships within local domestic units and with extended kin on home reservations and elsewhere were primary in determining adjustment to public schools and urban life. Many families were flexible, extended family groupings, composed of a variable number of visiting kin, besides a central core of kin; many had more than one person in the labor force. Children were frequently subject to multiple parenting and movement between domestic units in the city and on reservations, encouraging strong emotional ties between geographically dispersed kin. Absence of domestic affect often led to personal and emotional disorganization, especially apparent among unadjusted students. Most Indian families were adjusted to urban life. Appendices include data on American Indians in the Bay Area, the interview form, general characteristics of the student sample, Strong Vocational Interest Blank scores, and a 20-page bibliography. (AW)

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The Adjustment of Native American Students to Public Schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area

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By

Kathryn Theresa Molohon

Berkeley, California

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"We believe the concept of a great society should give recognition to the fact that cultural diversity is an asset, and not a liability to this nation..."

- Melvin D. Thom, Oakland,
California, March, 1969

"Indians are special citizens, not because of our race, or birth, but because of treaties, acts of Congress, and Supreme Court decisions that have developed since the white man intruded into Indian country. We want to be afforded full privileges as American Indians, and not tossed and lost into the white man's water and air polluted melting pot."

- Rose Crow Flies High, Oakland,
California, March, 1969

You can curse a drunken Indian
But when he drinks your wine
And smashes your glass
You give him to the wind.

- Anonymous, Intertribal Friendship
House Bulletin Board, Oakland,
California, April, 1969

"You might say every one of us here is a fiddler on a roof, trying to scrape out a living and keep our balance at the same time. And how do we keep our balance? That I can tell you in one word...
tradition!"

- From Sholom Aleichem, later adapted
by Sheldon Harnich in "Fiddler on the
Roof."

"If a man understands his identity, his cultural heritage, then that man is no longer a slave."

- James Baldwin, San Francisco,
California, April 12, 1969
(CBS Radio News Broadcast)

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Responsibility for the material and conclusions in this study is entirely mine. No part of the manuscript is intended to speak for individuals or agencies kind enough to contribute to the study.

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The Adjustment of Native American Students to Public Schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area

By

Kathryn Theresa Molohon

ABSTRACT

This study concerns adjustment to urban life and institutions by American Indians living in the East San Francisco Bay Area, California between 1965 and 1969. Descriptions of programs influencing Indian migration to the Bay Area and information about the local urban Indian community are given in the first sections.

As a focus for this study, intensive observations were carried out during the 1968-1969 school year on twenty-four, randomly-selected Indian students attending public schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area. Data on these students were used to examine the adjustment of Indians to a major urban institution as exemplified by the public schools, and to further assess general patterns of adaptation to the city. Both the students and their families are referred to throughout the study. The students are also discussed in detail according to adjusted, partially-adjusted, and unadjusted behaviour in school. It was found that the majority of students were adjusted to school, while only three were unadjusted to school. Discussions of truancy, student relationships with their families and peers,

employment aspirations, and test results for the Strong Vocational Interest Blank are included.

On the whole, both the Indian students in this study and their families, as well as the majority of other urban Indians observed between 1965 and 1969 were adjusted to life in the Bay Area. Though not free of pressures and concerns, their lives were successful. Since earlier studies of Bay Area Indians noted some dissatisfaction with city life, this finding may have represented increasing skills and experience in coping with the city.

Data gathered throughout this study indicated that Indian families were the center of social life. Strong, emotionally-supportive relationships within local domestic units and with extended kin located on home reservations and elsewhere were the primary variables determining adjustment to public schools, and to urban life in general. A large pr[illegible]ion of urban Indian families saw themselves as emotiona[illegible] financial, strategic, and geographical continuations of kin on home reservations. Many urban Indian domestic units were flexible, extended family groupings composed of a variable number of visiting or other kin in addition to a central core of kin. In most cases, family members were heavily emotionally dependent on one another. Many families had more than one person in the labour force, and most handled income and other resources corporately, including remittances to kin on home reservations. Urban Indian children often circulated throughout extended kinship networks along the same lines of distribution as economic or other resources. As part of this pattern, children were frequently subject to multiple parenting and to reciprocal rights and obligations spread over a wide range of kin. The movement of Indian children back and forth between domestic units located in both the city and on home reservations encouraged strong emotional ties between geographically dispersed kin.

The solidarity of most Bay Area Indian families, their relationships with reservation kin, and the heavy emotional support provided by normal domestic units indicated that a primary motivation for behaviour was extremely strong kinship affect. This strong affect represented an investment which ensured both the allegiance of individual kin, and the solidarity of groups of kin in the face of migration, geographic separation, and rapid social change. An absence of domestic affect often led to personal and emotional disorganization. This was especially clear among unadjusted students in the public schools sample.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Research Methodology and Statement of the Problem

This study deals with adjustment to urban life among Native American migrants to the East San Francisco Bay Area, California. It is based on field data and observations of the East Bay and surrounding vicinity between 1965 and 1969, when I met a large number of Native Americans under various circumstances. The study also focuses more specifically on observations of twenty-four Native American students enrolled in five East Bay public schools during the 1968-1969 school year. Many of the conclusions of this research are strongly influenced by the latter phase of the research, where I concentrated on Indian high school students as a means of tapping the adjustment of both students and their families to a major urban institution, and thus to urban life in general.

Available census data states that 12,041 Native Americans lived in San Francisco-Oakland in 1970, while another 4,407 were located in San Jose (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:140). In addition, the ten California counties immediately surrounding the San Francisco Bay had a total Indian population of 19,305 in 1970 (ibid. 1973a, Section One, pp. 6-310, 6-311; see also Appendix I).

A detailed survey by Joan Ablon of Native Americans living in the San Francisco Bay between 1961 and 1963 recorded some dissatisfaction with city life at a time when post-World War II urban relocation programs for Indians were in their earlier stages. The present study, carried out approximately five years later, found evidence of adjustment to urban life as migrating Indians arrived somewhat better prepared to cope with the city, encountered a larger number of successful Indians in the city whom they could observe, and had been given more time to come to terms with urban life. However, it must be stressed that as Indians gained increasing experience with the city, they also continued to maintain strong emotional and family ties with their home reservations.

Between 1965 and 1969, I gathered general information about Native Americans living in the San Francisco Bay Area. Then, from 1966 to 1968, I collected preliminary observations and pilot test data on twenty-six Indian residents of the Bay Area, some of whom were enrolled in East Oakland public schools. Work during the

1966-1967 school year with students enrolled in elementary or high schools in East Oakland represented part of a training assignment for a graduate course in psychological testing. To collect test data on Indian people who were not enrolled in school, I simply inquired if they wished to take one or more of about five standard psychological tests. These tests were meant to assess normal ranges of behaviour and attitudes, and to introduce a minimum of class and ethnic bias (for information on the issues and consequences surrounding the psychological testing of minorities, see Samuda 1975). Some people agreed to testing and seemed very interested in being tested, while others were less enthusiastic. Thus, not everyone in the preliminary survey was uniformly "recorded".

Following the preliminary survey, I decided to focus on Indian students attending public schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area. Research on Indians in schools was chosen for specific reasons, and intensive work on this topic was begun in the fall of 1968. Except for Santa Fe Indian Village in Richmond, and a tendency to concentrate in lower-income neighbourhoods, Indians in the Bay Area did not live in residential enclaves. Instead, they were scattered throughout the greater metropolitan vicinity. This meant that it was difficult to base research on any residential area, and that social activity sites, agencies dealing with Indians, and urban institutions used by Indians had to be considered. I thus reasoned that if one wished to examine the adjustment of Indians to the city, then public schools were more representative sites for observing behaviour and adjustment to urban institutions than were many Bay Area agencies which dealt with Indians. Urban agencies which attempted to serve Indians frequently contacted only certain segments of the Bay Area Native population, and then only during the arrival and initial residence period of individuals and families in the city. After a short while in the city, a large percentage of Indians avoided the agencies and interacted almost exclusively with families and selected close friends. The vast proportion of Indian residents of the Bay Area seemed to keep to themselves, leading quiet, unobtrusive lives, and hoping to make as many trips to visit kin "back home" on reservations as possible. A majority of people's close friends in the city were also other Indians. Thus, a research methodology which located Indians primarily through agencies would have biased the data in terms of a concentration of new arrivals, or of those most likely to be dissatisfied with city life (and perhaps least adjusted to its conditions). In addition to the effects of locating people through agencies, the effects of locating them through formal Indian organizations and social activities had to be considered.

Although socializing with kin and intimate friends consumed a large amount of free time, Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's did not generally participate in formal Indian community activities. A small group of interested individuals, some of whom had attended Haskell Indian Institute, seemed to provide cross-leadership for many of the more formal events (see Appendix VI). Most people participated in formal Bay Area Indian community activities only to the extent of attending an occasional or larger annual Pow Wow, the all-Indian rock and roll dances, and perhaps a few other social functions. Even then, people often attended such events in the company of groups or carloads of kin and close Indian friends. Furthermore, due to the time and expense involved in caring for children, many families with young children remained at home most of the time, confining much of their social life to visits back and forth between homes of kin and selected close friends. These general patterns were also true at the time of Ablon's study in 1961-1963 (Ablon 1963, 1964, 1965).

If Indians in the Bay Area kept largely to themselves, and for the most part led reasonably self-contained lives, then neither agencies nor formal Indian social functions would provide a complete picture of urban behaviour and adjustment. On the other hand, the national population of Indians, including those living in cities, contained a high birth rate and a large percentage of younger people (see Appendix III). Except for trips to the city to visit children and other relatives, older people usually remained at home on reservations. Furthermore, most adult Indians in the Bay Area had or would soon have children, and would thus be affected by both direct and indirect contact with public schools. A random sample of Native students in Bay Area schools would thus locate families which would be representative of the total population of Indians in the area, and could yield valuable insights about the adjustment of relocated Indians to a major urban institution, and to city life in general.

The conclusions of this study are made with these points in mind. It was not my intention to place value judgements on schools, government agencies, or urban institutions dealing with Indians, since evaluation is a task for a different kind of project. I simply wanted to find a representative sample of urban Indians, observe how they handled city life, and attempt to describe major patterns or foci of behaviour. Since Indians who were living in the San Francisco Bay Area came from an immense variety of geographical and tribal backgrounds, this goal seemed challenging.

During the 1968-1969 school year, and with the kind permission of the Oakland and Richmond Public Schools, I observed, interviewed, and tested twenty-four American Indian students. From this point on, the twenty-four students as a group will frequently be referred to as "the school sample". My primary concern during 1968-1969 was high school students. I included only a very few (five) elementary school students at this stage of the research because I had previously had extensive contacts with elementary school-age Indians, including long-term participation in the Tutorial and Summer Arts Programs at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. At this point it was also necessary to limit the research to manageable proportions. Nevertheless, I felt that systematic observations of at least some elementary school-age students were necessary in order to help identify and verify certain factors in the earlier grades which might persist in affecting adjustment throughout all grades.

Three standard psychological tests were given to all students. In addition, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and one other standard test were also given to high school students in the sample. However, only the Strong

Vocational Interest Blank is reported here because it was the only test which seemed to yield information relevant to the central purpose of the research (for further information on the Strong, see the section titled "Plans for the Future" in Chapter Four). In order to supplement various tests, all students received a detailed interview covering family genealogies, as well as a great deal of other information (see Appendix VIII). Finally, high school students were asked to write three brief essays (see Appendix IX).

As was the case for the total population of Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's, the twenty-four students in this study came from a wide variety of geographical areas and tribal backgrounds. Nine of the students were living with families which had relocated from reservations to the Bay Area through United States Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Employment Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) or Adult Vocational Training Programs. Five others were either residents of, or were closely tied to relatives living in Santa Fe Railway Indian Village in Richmond. The remaining ten students were from families who had relocated to the Bay Area from their home reservations on their own initiative.

The results of this study are discussed in Chapter Four. The remainder of the present chapter provides background material on Indian migration to the city. Chapter Two describes the Bay Area as a social setting for Indian people in the late 1960's. Chapter Three presents a discussion of domestic units and relationships among kin with respect to urban adjustment.

Reservation to City

According to the Meriam Report, Indians were migrating to cities, including those in California, throughout the Allotment Period of federal Indian policy, or from 1887 to about 1930 (1928:667-742). However, the first national, mass migration of American Indians away from reservations occurred during World War II, when a total of 23,000 males, or thirty-two per cent of all reservation males between the ages of 18-50, as well as 800 Indian women served in the U.S. Armed Forces (Sorkin 1969a:1577). An undeterminate but large number of these people did not return to their home reservations after the war. Many who did not return remained in urban centers, and some veterans began moving their families to cities where employment was available.

In addition to Indians serving in the Armed Forces, 46,000 others left reservations to look for jobs during World War II. About half of these were employed in industries where worker shortages were acute, while the other half took employment in agricultural occupations. Following World War II, most Indians employed in defense-related industries were "laid off", and a great proportion of these returned to their home reservations (ibid.).

Partly through the influence of World War II, partly through United States Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) Programs begun in 1952 and Adult Institutional Vocational Training Programs begun in 1956, and partly through independent desires to take advantage of greater economic opportunities in the city, 44.6 per cent of the officially-documented national population of 792,730 American Indians lived in or near metropolitan centres for part or all of each year by 1970 (Neils 1971:1, 16; and U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b:XI, 1).

Early Migration to the Bay Area

One key metropolitan centre for the gathering of American Indians and Eskimos since the 1800's has been the San Francisco Bay Area in California. By 1970 there were approximately 20,000 Indians and Eskimos from all parts of the United States living in the greater metropolitan San Francisco Bay Area (see Appendix I). Combined with an estimated 60,000 Indians located in the greater metropolitan Los Angeles area, this gave California a dominant position with respect to numbers of urban Indians. Only the state of Oklahoma may have had a larger number of Indians in cities by 1970 (Neils 1971:35, 142).

The history of Indian migration to the Bay Area reaches well back into the 1800's. For example, in 1885 about fifty members of the Nanticoke Tribe of Delaware moved to San Francisco (Speck 1915). Voluntary migration was later supplemented by at least three agencies which recruited Indians for employment in the Bay Area. This recruitment predated the 1950's, and involved both the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies (note that the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs will hereafter frequently be referred to as the "BIA"). Ablon (1963) gives detailed information on the history of urban recruitment through Indian school placement, employment by the Santa Fe Railway in Richmond, California, and through the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) and Vocational Training Programs.

The first Bay Area "relocation" program implemented by the BIA was the Outing Program, begun in 1913 to place students from Stewart Indian Boarding School at Carson City, Nevada in summer jobs in Bay Area communities. Most of the original participants in the Outing Program were from Nevada, California, and Idaho locations. Later, students from Chemawa Indian Boarding School at Chemawa, Oregon were also included.

The majority of students participating in the Outing Program were girls, and they were supervised by their schools as well as by a school matron located in the Bay Area. Students in the Outing Program received practical vocational experience in several areas, as well as a knowledge of city life and the handling of finances. Many returned to the Bay Area to look for work after graduation (Ablon 1963:19; see also Institute for Government Research 1928:389-390, 528-529, 627-628, 711-712, 719-720). In 1915 the Oakland Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) initiated a recreation program known as the Four Winds Club to assist girls participating in the Outing Program. Between 1915-1942 the Four Winds Club was dedicated to single girls, but after 1942 it became a family organization (Ablon 1963:71).

In 1934 a Government Placement Office for American Indians was opened in Oakland, California. It operated through various community agencies, especially the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and provided employment, recreation, welfare services, and education for its clients. Ablon (ibid.:20) cited an unpublished report from this early Oakland Placement Office written by Van Every in 1937 which stated that at that time, there were approximately 485 Indian residents in the Bay Area. Over two hundred of these were between seventeen and forty years of age, three quarters of them were women, and most of the women were employed in domestic service jobs. Van Every's report also stated that in 1937, the San Francisco Bay Area was a major center for the rural-urban migration of Indians from Nevada and central and northern California.

In 1939 the Oakland Government Placement Office moved to San Francisco. It was later closed in approximately 1942, when a surplus of job opportunities during World War II made its services unnecessary (ibid.:21).

Post-War Bureau of Indian Affairs Relocation Programs

The U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Employment Assistance Program, originally called the Voluntary Relocation Program until its redesignation in 1962, dates from between 1950 and 1952, when efforts were begun on a national scale to locate Indians and Eskimos in permanent jobs away from reservations (see Sorkin 1969a:1578; and Ablon 1963:22).

Between 1952 and 1957, over 60,000 people, or about one tenth of all American Indians were relocated from reservations to cities through the BIA Employment Assistance Program (Sorkin 1969a:1578). Throughout the early years of the BIA Employment Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) Program, more than three-quarters of all relocated people returned home. For example, during the first part of the 1960's, the national average rate of return for all relocated Indians, including but not limited to those relocated to the Bay Area, was about thirty-five per cent (Ablon 1964:297; and see also Sorkin 1969a:passim).

Between 1952 and 1958, the number of persons participating in BIA relocation programs grew rapidly. After 1958, the annual number of relocatees stabilized and tended to remain constant (Sorkin 1969a:1578; as well as personal conversations with BIA employees in Oakland, 1967). Note that for a variety of reasons, by 1959 the BIA had discontinued parts of its original series of statistics on relocatees (Sorkin 1969b:245).

In 1954 the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened a Field Employment Assistance Office in Oakland. This office operated until 1955, when it was closed and two similar offices were opened in San Francisco and San Jose, California. In 1957, the Oakland Field Office was reopened. That same year, Adult Institutional Vocational Training Programs, authorized under Public Law 959 of the 84th Congress (1956), were implemented for the first time on a broad scale throughout the San Francisco Bay Area (Ablon 1963:22). In May of 1965, the San Francisco Field Office was closed and its operations were combined with those of the Oakland Field Office. In August of 1967, the Oakland Field Office was moved to Alameda, directly adjacent to Oakland, which provided the advantage of lower office rents and overhead expenses. During these shifting locations for the Oakland and San Francisco offices, the San Jose Field Employment Assistance Office continued its activities in downtown San Jose.

Ablon states that during the first fiscal year of the Employment Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) Program in the Bay Area, or July 1954 to June 1955, 200 relocations were processed by the Oakland Field Employment Assistance Office. Most of these relocatees were Navajos, or came from various bands and reservations of Apaches, Sioux, and Chippewa. A few other groups were also included. Some tribes, such as those from Alaska, were seldom represented during the early years of the Relocation Program (Ablon 1963:35).

On average days at the Oakland Field Employment Assistance Office in 1966 and 1967, I observed perhaps two to four new "units" arriving for initial processing through Employment Assistance or Vocational Training Programs. A unit was defined as either a single individual, or a family head and his or her nuclear family. Although the number of arrivals varied from day to day, long term averages of arrivals were fairly constant. BIA personnel stated that since programs administrated by Field Employment Assistance Offices were voluntary, and clients came and went according to need, there were no quotas or set number of clients handled daily.

In addition to orientation for new arrivals, Bay Area Field Employment Assistance Offices provided family and guidance counselling, related assistance, and home visits by counselors when necessary. In 1965, both the Oakland and San Jose Offices stated that regardless of eligibility for formal BIA programs, any Indian or Eskimo in the area could come to them for advice at any time. The Director of the San Jose Field Office stated that she encouraged clients to become independent of BIA services, and was pleased when people obtained new jobs or otherwise managed on their own without feeling that they should be dependent on the BIA. The San Jose Office also placed letter stationery in its waiting room, and made a point of asking new arrivals to write a letter home (August 1965).

The average counselor I met in BIA offices in the late 1960's, whether Indian or white, was generally very helpful. Some white counselors seemed defensive about possible criticism of the BIA and its policies by outsiders, and in that case volunteered information to show how they worked overtime in order to help clients.

By 1969, there were at least as many clients relocated on a national basis through the BIA Employment Assistance Program as were being trained through both On-the-Job Training Programs located on or near reservations, and through Adult Institutional Vocational Training Programs located both near reservations and in urban centers (Sorkin 1969a:1579).

The BIA Employment Assistance Program as it was during the late 1960's is best described by indicating its procedures (see Sorkin 1969a:1578; The National Council on Indian Opportunity 1969c; and Neils 1971). As a first step, an individual filed an application for relocation employment assistance with a local Employment Assistance Officer on or near a home reservation. The

Employment Assistance Officer then evaluated job preferences stated on the client's application, and referred the client to the State Employment Office for aptitude testing (usually the General Aptitude Test Battery). After the test results had been returned, the Officer discussed them with the client, the client chose a relocation center from available alternatives, and the Officer briefed the client on what to expect during the relocation process. The client (and his or her nuclear family) then received transportation and shipping of their household goods to the preferred relocation site, low-cost temporary housing at the site, counselling, advice in job-seeking, medical examinations, eye glasses, health benefits, and emergency financial assistance if needed. Oakland-Alameda relocatees were enrolled in the Kaiser Medical Plan, and were given a Kaiser Plan identification card during orientation. Soon after arrival in the city, relocatees and their families were moved from temporary quarters to permanent housing. Once a relocatee had been placed in a job, he or she received follow-up services from the local urban Field Employment Assistance Office for one year, and could return to that office for further employment advice at any time.

Some relocatees used BIA services again, while others operated independently or through friendship and kinship networks once they had become established in the city. There were a few cases where individuals who had been relocated to the Bay Area eventually returned to their home reservations, and then later reapplied for relocation services. In addition, young people who were born in the Bay Area, or who had become eighteen after moving to the Bay Area with parents or relatives, sometimes returned to their home reservations in order to stay with relatives and become eligible for Adult Institutional Vocational Training. Had they remained in the city, they would not have been eligible for BIA Vocational Training services, and most who followed this pattern could not afford equivalent training. The usual decision in such cases was to apply for training in the same city where parents or other relatives were living. Two students in the 1968-1969 school sample were considering this alternative upon completion of high school. Information on their post-high school situations indicates that each successfully carried out this plan.

The Adult Institutional Vocational Training and On-the-Job Training Programs administered by the BIA in the late 1960's were somewhat different from the Employment Assistance Program, and some of their procedures were different. Public Law 959, or the Indian Vocational Training Act of the 84th Congress (1956), was concerned with vocational training, on-the-job training, and apprenticeship training on or near reservations and in urban areas. This law authorized the Bureau of Indian Affairs to enter into contracts with private firms which could provide specified training for Indian clients. Firms participating in these contracts were required to have existing and accredited training programs which would prepare Indian clients for skilled employment. In order to be eligible for training programs operating under Public Law 959, Indian clients needed to be between the ages of eighteen to thirty-five, and to be able to demonstrate one-fourth or more degree of Indian blood (see Sorkin 1969a:1579).

As an incentive for businesses to locate plants on or near reservations, employers participating in BIA On-the-Job Training programs were reimbursed by the BIA for one-half of the minimum wage for each On-the-Job Trainee for as long as he or she was in training. For participants in these programs, the BIA paid transportation to the site of training, and subsistence costs while travelling. Finally, employers participating in On-the-Job Training Programs had to agree to hire Indian trainees on a permanent basis once they satisfactorily completed training requirements (ibid.).

Depending on the occupation, Adult Institutional Vocational Training and On-the-Job Training varied from three months to two years. The BIA stated that it used United States Department of Labor Standards concerning the length of training for various occupations.

With respect to Adult Institutional Vocational Training (which differed from On-the-Job Training in several respects, including location near reservations and in urban centres), by 1966 the BIA had approved 125 different vocational training courses at accredited schools near reservations and in urban centers in twenty-six states. Regardless of the location of training, most graduates of these courses eventually located in off-reservation areas (ibid.; note that by contrast, On-the-Job Training was meant for those who expected to remain in reservation areas). For a partial listing of the types of training available in the Bay Area by the mid-1960's through Adult Institutional Vocational Training Programs, see Appendix II.

Financial Assistance given trainees during Adult Institutional Vocational Training was much the same as that provided for participants in the Employment

Assistance (Voluntary Relocation) Program. The BIA paid a trainee's and his or her nuclear family's transportation to the site of training and subsistence costs while travelling, as well as subsistence during training, including clothing. Tuition, books, supplies, and tools needed during training were also provided (ibid.).

National figures compiled by the BIA stated that between 1952 and 1967, about 61,641 persons including dependents participated in the Employment Assistance Program, that about 6,223 persons including dependents participated in On-the-Job Training, and that about 31,556 persons including dependents participated in Adult Institutional Vocational Training Programs. One Bureau of Indian Affairs study of a sample of 1963 participants in the Employment Assistance Program found that by 1968, only 20 per cent of 1963 relocatees were still living in the same urban areas to which they had been relocated. Some of these relocatees had returned home in order to take advantage of expanded job opportunities on their reservations, but the great majority experienced fewer employment opportunities and a loss of income upon returning home (Sorkin 1969a:1578, 1586). The movement of Indians back and forth between larger relocation cities and elsewhere where there were job opportunities was not considered.

Statistics regarding BIA training programs indicated that in the late 1960's, between one-third to about one-half of all trainees did not finish their courses, but that there was some variation in dropout rates by vocation. Welding, heavy equipment, and auto diesel mechanics courses had dropout rates of less than 25 per cent, while practical nursing, cooking, and accounting courses had dropout rates of more than 45 per cent (Sorkin 1969a: 1587, 1589).

To avoid confusion with respect to statistics, it must be noted that BIA Officials in Oakland estimated that government training and employment programs were responsible for only about one-third to possibly one-half of the approximately 20,000 Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area by 1969-1970. The remaining Indian population was considered to be self-relocated.

To illustrate the range of personal strategies applicable to urban relocation, consider the following case. The family of two siblings in the 1968-1969 school sample had first relocated from their home reservation to a major city in another state. Following a two-year stay in that city, the family returned temporarily to their home reservation in order to re-establish residency and qualify for government relocation to the San Francisco Bay Area. As soon as residency requirements had been established on the home reservation, the family was relocated to the East Bay, where the father was placed in a good industrial job in his area of expertise.

An Industry-Sponsored Relocation Program

The only direct recruitment of Indian workers from reservations to the Bay Area by industry or other private business which I observed was represented by Santa Fe Indian Village, a small, Pueblo-style community adjacent to the Santa Fe Railway yards in Richmond. This village was created by the Santa Fe Railway during the early years of World War II in fulfillment of its contract obligations for land leased from various New Mexico pueblos. In return for leases, the Railway agreed to hire Indian workers from these pueblos, and to provide Indian workers and their families with rent-free housing in villages erected at various sites along the Railway line. Line villages resulting from these agreements were eventually located in Winslow, Arizona, and Barstow and Richmond, California (Kelly and Cramer 1966). The

Barstow Village has since been dismantled, though some Pueblo Indians still live in Barstow and work for the Santa Fe Railway.

Under contract obligations, the Santa Fe Railway provides free housing, firewood, electricity, plumbing, and repairs for Village houses as long as the head of a family continues to be employed by the Railway. In addition, Village people receive free passes on the railway which can be extended to certain allied railways. These passes have made it easy for people in line villages to return to their home Pueblos for visits, ceremonies, medical treatment, weddings, and other events as often as they wish.

During World War II, the population of Richmond Santa Fe Village increased to about 40 families. Most families were from Acoma and Laguna Pueblos, but there were also Navajos, Chicanos, and some single labourers from other Indian groups. After World War II the Village population fell, and by the 1960's there were only about eight Acoma and Laguna families (Ablon 1963:64, and personal observations).

Santa Fe Indian Village represented only a tiny proportion of all Indians in the Bay Area, and was not representative of the tribal backgrounds of the majority of the Indian population. However, four students in the

CHAPTER II

THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA IN 1968-1969: THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS URBAN INDIANS

Demography

Official U.S. Census totals show that between 1950 and 1960, the national population of American Indians increased 46.5 per cent, or from 357,499 to 523,591 persons. Then, between 1960 and 1970, the total population of American Indians was recorded as increasing 51.4 per cent, or from 523,591 to 792,730 persons (1970 total count, and not a twenty per cent sample, as per many of the 1970 Census tables; see U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:XI).

Census procedures for 1960 and 1970 differed from earlier decades, when enumerators classified races on the basis of observation, and may not have correctly identified all off-reservation Indians. In 1960 and 1970, information on race was obtained primarily through self-enumeration via individual census questionnaires. Thus, part of the large increase in numbers of American Indians recorded during 1960 and 1970 may have reflected improved census procedures.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census now defines "race" as self-identification by respondents. In 1970, American Indians were asked to write tribal identifications in a space provided for this purpose on census questionnaires. Persons identifying themselves as "Mexican-Indian", "Canadian Indian", or "South American Indian" were enumerated as "American Indians". Non-respondents to the question on race were interviewed by telephone or direct visit. In addition, people of mixed Indian and white or Black descent were asked to report the race with which they identified themselves. For those who were doubtful about their classification, the race of the father was used. By contrast, during the 1960 Census, people of mixed white and Indian ancestry were included as Indians only if they were registered on a tribal or agency roll, or if they were regarded as Indians by their communities. Again in 1960, people of mixed Indian and Black descent were enumerated as Indians only if Indian ancestry predominated, or if their communities regarded them as Indians. Finally, mixtures of Indian and races other than white or Black were classified according to the race of the father during the 1960 Census. Compare these procedures with 1950 procedures, where people of mixed Indian and white or Black ancestry were placed in a category labelled "All Other Races". In censuses prior to 1950, people of mixed Indian and white or Black ancestry were sometimes classified as Indians, and sometimes as Blacks (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:VIII-XI).

The two decades between 1950 and 1970 saw major changes in North American Indian demography within its urban configuration. During that time, the national urban growth rate for Indians exceeded both the total U.S. urban growth rate, and the urban growth rate of another distinctive subgroup which was likewise moving to cities in large numbers, or Blacks (Neils 1971:15-16). Government programs affecting the rural-urban movement of Indians between 1950 and 1970 have been described in Chapter One. By 1970, 44.6 per cent of all American Indians were living in cities for all or part of each year. Furthermore, only 28 per cent of the 1970 Indian population was recorded as living on identified reservations. The remaining 27.4 per cent of the Indian population was located in rural farm and rural nonfarm areas of the United States, or may have been partly accounted for by underenumeration in cities (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:1, 138).

Between 1930 and 1960, California demonstrated the largest absolute increase in numbers of urban Indians of any state, and was the recipient of large numbers of out-of-state Indian migrants (Neils 1971:27-28). Note that in 1960, the proportion of Indians in the San Francisco-Oakland area who were "residents of a different state of those resident in a different county in 1955" was about 80 per cent (ibid.:161). In 1970, census figures demonstrated that 48.6 per cent of all Indians living in the San Francisco-Oakland area had been born in a different state, and that 49.3 per cent of all Indians living in San Jose had been born in a different state (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:140).

Two metropolitan centres in California dominated the 1960's trend towards urbanization for American Indians, or the greater Los Angeles area with an estimated 60,000 Indians, and the greater San Francisco Bay Area with an estimated 20,000 Indians by 1970. Detailed information on the number of Indians in Bay Area counties receiving the impact of urban Indian relocation between 1940 and 1970 is given in Appendix I. Further information on the demography of urban Indians in California and the San Francisco Bay Area during the 1960's can be found in Ablon (1963, 1964), the California State Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment

Practices Report (1965), the California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs Report (1966), Price (1968), and United States Census Bureau Reports for 1960 and 1970.

By 1969, tribal and geographic diversity among Native Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area was immense. No exact figures on the numbers of people by tribe were available, but the range of tribal backgrounds can be cited.

Ablon found that the largest number of people in her 1961-1963 survey of the Bay Area came from the Navajo, Sioux (including the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations), and Turtle Mountain Chippewa tribes (Ablon 1964:297). Others in her sample included Leach Lake and White Earth Chippewas, Gros Ventres, Northern Cheyennes, Shoshones, Kiowas, Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Monos. In addition to these groups, Hanson (1960) observed representatives of the Crow and Arapaho tribes. Northwest Coast people, including Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians, were also present in the area, as witnessed by Hirabayashi and Willard's team survey of 1961 (Hirabayashi and Willard, et. al. 1964).

Tribal backgrounds of Indians in the Bay Area which I observed between 1965 and 1969 included a majority of people from the Southwest (especially Navajos and Pueblos, but also other Southwestern groups), from the

Plains, the Prairies, and the Great Lakes areas (especially Sioux and Chippewa, but also others), and from Oklahoma. By rough geographic groupings from north to south, these tribes were:

A. The Southwest

Walapai
Mohave
Pima
Papago
Navaho
Apache
Taos
Sia
Laguna
Acoma
Zuni
Hopi

B. The Plains and Eastern Areas

Delaware
Ottawa
Chippewa (Ojibwa)
Potawatomi
Winnebago
Sauk and Fox
Omaha
Sioux (Dakota)
Blackfoot
Gros Ventre (Atsina)
Assiniboine
Mandan
Arikara
Crow
Cheyenne
Arapaho

C. Oklahoma and the Southeast

Cherokee (Oklahoma and North Carolina)
Chickasaw
Choctaw (Oklahoma and Mississippi)
Creek
Seminole (Oklahoma and Florida)
Kiowa
Osage
Comanche
Caddo

D. Others

Aleut
Eskimo
Tlingit
Haida
Tsimshian
Cowichan
Quinault
Yakima
Nez Perce
Flathead
Bannock
Shoshone
Ute
Paiute
Washo
Yurok
Wailaki
Pomo
Chukchansi (Yokuts)
Mono

In the 1968-1969 Bay Area school sample there were eight Navajos, two Arikara-Sioux, two Gros Ventre-Assiniboines, one Arapaho-Hispano, one Cherokee-white from Oklahoma, one Choctaw, one Choctaw-Afro-American, one Pima, one Papago, four Acomas, one Laguna-Acoma, and one Zuni. In all, sixteen students were from the Southwest, five were from the Plains, one was from the Southeast, and two were from Southeastern tribes which had been moved to Oklahoma. The sample was proportionally accurate with respect to the numbers of Navajos, Plains Indians, and Basin Indians living in the Bay Area by 1969. However, it included no Californians or representatives of the Northwest Coast, was low on the number of Southeastern and Oklahoma representatives, and high on the proportion of Pueblo representatives. The number of Pueblo Indians is not surprising since I worked in Richmond schools which drew students from Santa Fe Indian Village. Twelve of the twenty-four students in the sample, or fifty per cent were born on their home reservations. One other student was born "just off the reservation", but associated heavily with reservation kin and activities before moving in the Bay Area. The remaining eleven students had all been born in the Bay Area.

The appearance in the school sample of one Choctaw mixed with Black, whose Choctaw mother and Black father moved to the Bay Area from Texas in the 1940's is not surprising. Many Southeastern Indians have associated closely with Blacks since the days when Southeastern Indians bought slaves from slave traders and provided refuge for runaway slaves. And, although some Indian-Afro-Americans may tend to identify themselves (and be identified by others) primarily as Blacks, I decided to include the Choctaw-Afro-American in the school sample because both teachers and counselors at her school identified her as Indian as well as Black, volunteering her name as one of the Indian students at her school when this information was requested. Note that in addition to the Choctaw-Afro-American, the school sample also included an Arapaho-Hispano and an Oklahoma Cherokee mixed with white, both of whom also identified themselves and were identified by teachers as Indians. Since a large proportion of the total population of American Indians was of mixed ancestry, it was important to emphasize that Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960's were likewise diversified in background through the inclusion of these randomly-encountered individuals in the school sample.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

An overview of socio-economic trends for the total California Indian population by 1960 was compiled by Price (1968:169, Table I). These data show that compared to whites, Indians living in California in 1960 were on the average younger, came from larger families, had less formal education, were less often employed, had somewhat lower incomes, were more rarely entrepreneurs, and more often worked as wage labourers and in personal service occupations. These characteristics were also true for many Indians living in the Bay Area by 1969. However, such generalized rural-urban averages must be approached with caution, as they tend to hide the true diversity of Bay Area Indians, including a growing number of elite, professional, and middle-class persons, and an emerging political leadership.

Except for Santa Fe Indian Village in Richmond, there was no true enclave of Indians in the greater San Francisco Bay Area at the time of this study. Instead, Indians were geographically scattered, with some concentration in lower-income neighbourhoods. This was also true in both 1958 (see McEntire, et. al. 1958), and in 1961-1963 (see Hirabayashi and Willard 1962:7-8, and Ablon 1964). During the summer of 1961, Hirabayashi and Willard found some concentration of Indians in Oakland between First and 108 Avenues and the East Shore of the San Francisco Bay and MacArthur Boulevard. Two to three story wood-frame, Victorian-type houses predominated between First and 15th Avenues in Oakland, while one-story stucco houses predominated between 15th and 108th Avenues (ibid.). Ablon found that most Indians living in San Francisco between 1961-1963 were located in the Mission District, and that although Indians were scattered throughout San Jose, many lived around the outskirts of the downtown San Jose area (1973:25-26).

In general, these same features for the distribution of Indians in the Bay Area remained constant throughout the 1960's. Between 1965 and 1969, people's overt life styles seemed to conform to those of the neighbourhoods in which they lived. By contrast, Indian migrants to such cities as Minneapolis-St. Paul, Denver, Chicago, and Tucson had begun to form residential enclaves (see for example Carter 1953; Cullum 1957; Dowling 1968; Graves 1965, 1966, 1970; Graves et. al. 1965; Graves and Van Arsdale 1966; Hodge 1969; Hurt 1961-1962; Kelly and Cramer 1966; Manzolillo 1955; Martin 1964; McPhee 1953; Parker 1954; Renaud 1967; Ritzenthaler and Sellers 1955; Sorkin 1969a, 1969b; Van Arsdale 1965; Waddell 1969; Waddell and Watson 1973; White 1959, 1962; and publications of the University of Minnesota Training Center for Community Programs).

Appendix III lists major social and economic characteristics of Indian residents of the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area in both 1960 and 1970, not including San Jose. Appendix IV lists occupations of Indian residents of both the San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in 1970 in some detail. For comparative purposes, both Appendixes III and IV include data for the total U.S.

Indian population. In addition, Appendix IV also provides information regarding employed Indian males and females in all U.S. urban areas in 1970.

Upon inspection of Appendix III, certain trends become clear. Despite the relative lack of older persons, (who tended to remain on reservations), Indian residents of the San Francisco-Oakland area were on the average older than the national average ages of Indian males and females in both 1960 and 1970. In addition, the average ages of Indian residents of San Francisco-Oakland remained stable over that decade, reflecting a constant influx of persons in an age category where they would be receiving occupational training and entering the labour force for the first time.

During both the 1960 and 1970 census counts, Indian residents of the San Francisco-Oakland area had more education than U.S. Indians as a whole, with a majority of males and females in the 25-34 year age group having completed about four years of high school by 1970 (see Appendix III). Furthermore, 1970 census data demonstrated that the median number of years of schooling completed by all Indian residents over the age of 25 in San Francisco-Oakland was 12.1, and in San Jose, 12.2, reflecting some contact with post-secondary training. In addition, Indians over the age of 25 in the San Francisco

Bay Area in 1970 had more education than those in many other urban areas, including Los Angeles, but not including some cities in the Southwest, Oklahoma, and the combined urban area surrounding Washington, D.C. In 1970, the Washington, D.C. area reflected the highest educational level of any city for Indian residents over the age of 25, with a median for these residents of 12.6 years of schooling, including 65.8 per cent with high school diplomas, 21.4 per cent with one to three years of college, and 19.1 per cent with four or more years of college (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:138-141).

By comparison, 52.5 per cent of all Indian residents out of a total of 5,522 over the age of twenty-five in San Francisco-Oakland were high school graduates in 1970, while 55.8 per cent out of a total of 1,816 over the age of 25 in San Jose were high school graduates in 1970. Moreover, 15.5 per cent of all Indian residents over the age of 25 in San Francisco-Oakland in 1970 had completed one to three years of college, while 7.8 per cent had completed four or more years of college. In San Jose, 16.5 per cent of all Indian residents over the age of 25 in 1970 had completed one to three years of college, while 7.2 per cent had completed four or more years of college (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:140).

Appendix III demonstrates that percentages of Indian males and females in the labour force in the San Francisco-Oakland area in 1960 and 1970 were higher than these same percentages for the total U.S. Indian population (see Columns Six and Seven). Also, the percentage of Indian females in the labour force for both San Francisco-Oakland and nationally climbed at approximately the same rate between 1960 and 1970, increasing by about nine to ten per cent by 1970. At the same time, the percentage of Indian males in the labour force in the San Francisco-Oakland area declined at about 2.6 per cent, while the national percentage of Indian males in the labour force climbed by about 4.4 per cent.

In both 1960 and 1970, unemployment rates for Indian males in the San Francisco-Oakland area were lower than national unemployment averages for Indian males. Furthermore, these rates remained stable for San Francisco-Oakland during that decade. In addition, although higher than the rate for Indian males in San Francisco-Oakland, the unemployment rate for Indian women in San Francisco-Oakland declined by about 2.3 per cent between 1960 and 1970, bringing it closer to the national average unemployment rate for all Indian women in 1970.

Note that at the same time, the national average unemployment rate for Indian males declined faster than the simultaneous decline for Indian females, or over three per cent (see Appendix III, Columns Eight and Nine).

For comparison with San Francisco-Oakland (for data on San Francisco-Oakland, refer to Appendix III), 1970 census data for San Jose demonstrated that 76.9 per cent of all Indian males over the age of 16 in San Jose were in the labour force, while 8.1 per cent of Indian males in the civilian labour force in that city were unemployed. Also in 1970, 40.4 per cent of all Indian females over the age of sixteen in San Jose were in the labour force, while 13.9 per cent of Indian females in the civilian labour force in San Jose were unemployed. These data indicated that employment rates for Indian males in San Jose in 1970 were better than in San Francisco-Oakland, but not as good for Indian females in San Jose in 1970 as they were in San Francisco-Oakland (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:160). This employment feature for women may be partly explained by data in Appendix IV (Table II), which indicate that 13.7 per cent more Indian women in San Francisco-Oakland than in San Jose were employed as Clerical Workers in 1970 (although this may have been offset somewhat by a lower percentage of Indian women in San Francisco-Oakland than in San Jose who were employed as Operatives). Note that the category of Clerical Workers was also the major category of employment for all urban Indian women in the United States in 1970, and that Clerical Work was likewise a close second to the category of Service Work as the major category of employment for all Indian women nationally regardless of location in 1970.

In addition to higher employment rates than those for Indian males nationally, and lower unemployment rates than those for Indian males nationally, there was an impressive difference in income for Indian males resident in the San Francisco-Oakland area in both 1960 and 1970 when compared to other areas. During both the 1960 and 1970 censuses, Indian males in the San Francisco-Oakland Area showed median incomes of about twice that of Indian males nationally, or $3,349 vs. $1,792 in 1960, and $6,175 vs. $3,509 in 1970 (see Appendix III, Column Sixteen). Furthermore, the median income for Indian males resident in San Francisco-Oakland in 1970 was about 35.2 per cent higher than the median income for all U.S. urban Indian males by 1970 (cf. Appendix III, Column Sixteen, and U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:62). Additionally, and in accordance with the apparently better employment rates for Indian males in San Jose, the median income for Indian males in San Jose in 1970 exceeded that of San Francisco-Oakland by about $840.00 ($7,015 vs. $6,175), although the mean 1970 incomes for Indian males were approximately equal in both locations, or $6,503.00 in San Francisco-Oakland, and $6,642.00 in San Jose. Significantly, median incomes for Indian females in San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose in 1970, or $2,674.00 and $2,348.00 respectively, were one more indication that employment opportunities for Indian women were somewhat better in the San Francisco-Oakland area than in San Jose (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:160).

Majority employment categories for Indian men and women in the San Francisco-Oakland area in both 1960 and 1970 demonstrated some differences from majority employment categories for the national Indian population (see Appendixes III and IV). The most notable trends were a divergence in San Francisco-Oakland in the category of greatest employment for Indian males from Operatives to Craftsmen between 1960 and 1970 (see Appendix III, Column Ten), a doubling of the percentage of female Clerical Workers in San Francisco-Oakland between 1960 and 1970 (see Appendix III, Column Thirteen), and an occupational switch for industry category of greatest employment for all Indian workers in the San Francisco-Oakland area from the category of Wholesale and Retail Trade Workers in 1960, to the category of Professional and Related Service Workers by 1970 (see Appendix III, Column Fourteen). In addition, the second-ranking general occupational category of greatest Indian male employment for the San Francisco-Oakland area in 1970, or the category of Operatives, was also the category of greatest Indian male employment for the San Francisco-Oakland area in 1960, comprising 25.1 per cent of employed Indian males in 1970, and 27.0 per cent of employed Indian males in 1960 (see Appendix IV, Table I, and Appendix III, Column Eleven). In San Jose, the category of greatest employment for Indian males by 1970 was likewise Operatives, including 25.3 per cent of all employed Indian males, while the second-ranking category of employment for Indian males by 1970 was Craftsmen and Kindred Workers, including 21.3 per cent of all employed Indian males (see Appendix IV, Table I). Furthermore, employment figures for percentages of Indian male Operatives in both San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose in 1970 are very similar, or 25.1 and 25.3 per cent respectively. These percentages for Operatives were similar to 1970 percentages for Operatives as the category of greatest Indian male employment for all urban Indian males, as well as for all Indian males nationally, or 25.6 per cent and 23.9 per cent respectively (ibid.).

A few other important trends for Indian employment in the Bay Area in 1970 as indicated by data in Appendix IV should be noted. In both San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose, Indian women showed a significantly higher percentage of employment in the category of Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers than the average percentages in that category for Indian women and men in both all urban areas, and nationally regardless of location in 1970. Likewise, Indian males in San Jose (but not San Francisco-Oakland) also had a higher percentage of employment in the category of Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers than the average percentages of employment in that category for Indian women and men in all urban areas or nationally regardless of location by 1970. Part of the reason for higher percentages of employment in the Professional-Technical category for Indian women and men in San Jose in 1970 may have been job opportunities in the electronics industry in that vicinity.

Finally, with the exception of strong percentages of employment as Craftsmen in San Francisco-Oakland, and as Professional-Technical Workers in San Jose, the general employment profiles or spread of employment percentages across occupational categories for Indian males in both San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose in 1970 seem more similar to those for all urban Indian males, as well as all Indian males nationally regardless of location (with some allowance for agricultural occupations in rural areas), than do the 1970 employment profiles for Indian women in the Bay Area. When the 1970 employment profiles for Indian women in San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose are compared to those for all urban Indian women and for all U.S. Indian women nationally, the 1970 profiles for Indian women in San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose show more "diversification", or that is more variation in percentages across various employment categories.

Data on the employment of Indian men in the Bay Area in 1970 are relevant to discussions of Indian students in the 1968-1969 Bay Area school sample because for that randomly-selected group, the presence or absence of competent (employed and emotionally-supportive) social fathers in student homes was correlated with both family organization, and student adjustment to school. Employment categories and percentages based on the twenty fathers of the twenty-four students in the sample (including four pairs of siblings), whether or not all fathers were employed or present in student homes at the time of the study, were as follows: Fifteen, or 75 per cent Craftsmen (one Truck Mechanic, one Auto Mechanic, one Airplane Mechanic, one Railway Locomotive Mechanic, one Ship Boilermaker, one Die Caster, four Railway Carmen, and five Industrial

Welders), three, or 15.0 per cent Operatives (one Warehouseman-Truck Loader, one Truck Driver, and one Factory Machine Operator in a cannery), one or 5.0 per cent Service Worker (City Sanitation Worker), and one or 5.0 per cent Professional-Technical person (Tree Surgeon). Note that although probably a skewed percentage, the majority category of employment for this random sample of adult males, or Craftsmen, was also the majority category of employment for all Indian males in the San Francisco-Oakland area in 1970.

Information on the employment of Indian women in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1970 is important because fifteen of the twenty urban Indian families included in the school sample had working mothers. In addition, there was also a high proportion of working women throughout the extended kin group networks of the twenty families of the twenty-four students in the sample. Only two of the fifteen working mothers of students in the sample were employed on a part-time basis, including one of the Clerical Workers and the Salesworker. The other thirteen working mothers were all employed on a full-time basis. Employment categories and percentages based on twenty families for the fifteen urban mothers (primary social mothers living in student homes) who were working at the time of the study were as follows: Six or 30.0

per cent Operatives (one Industrial Seamstress, one Machine Operator in a plastics factory, one Glass Factory Worker, one Industrial Cover Factory Worker, and two industrial items manufacturing Factory Workers), four or 20.0 per cent Clerical Workers, two or 10.0 per cent Service Workers (one each full-time Babysitter and Professional Cleaning Woman), one or 5.0 per cent Salesworker, one or 5.0 per cent Craftsperson (Hairdresser), and one or 5.0 per cent Professional-Technical person (Nurse). Of the five mothers, or 25.0 per cent who were full-time housewives at the time of the study, four had worked previously and/or planned to work for pay at some point in the future. At the same time, virtually all of the fifteen female students in the school sample planned to work upon completion of high school or college, most in conjunction with the role of housewife. Finally, when compared to the students' fathers, the overall employment profile or occupational spread of the students' mothers was more diversified than the occupational spread of their fathers. This was comparable to all employed Indian women in both San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose in 1970, where Indian women reflected a more diversified employment profile than Indian men in these same cities.

Informal Interaction

Ablon found that two-fifths of the Indian families in her 1961-1963 Bay Area survey had no intimate friends outside of their kin groups, and spent most of their free time with relatives. The most frequent pattern of personal interaction which she observed was that of small kindred cliques (1963:134-135). In the early 1960's, Indian residents of the San Francisco Bay Area did not represent a geographic community, but were instead organized around a series of informal networks. These networks were fairly self-contained on a voluntary basis, with participants confining much of their social life to relationships with kin and close friends (1964:296, 298-303).

By way of comparison, Hirabayashi and Willard found that in the summer of 1961, social groupings of Indian people in the lower-income areas of East Oakland where many Indians tended to congregate ranged from casual to informal and formal social interaction. There were a large number of informal social groupings based on proximity of residence, kinship, friendship, and service (helping). Primary socializing beyond the nuclear family often consisted of inter-family visits on an informal basis, where people arrived unannounced in hopes that the family being visited would be home. Informal, unannounced visiting also occurred between close friends. Efforts to cooperate socially existed wherever Indian people got together in groups, as for example the widespread sharing of automobile rides in order to provide transportation for everyone present. An example of 71 adults and children travelling to an Indian social event in eight cars was presented in order to illustrate this point (1972:7-14; see also Hirabayashi and Willard, et. al. 1974).

These basic modes of informal and kinship-based social interaction, including voluntary self-segregation, informal sharing, and considerable mutual aid were still the case by 1969, and students in the 1968-1969 school sample reflected such patterns. For example, about two-thirds of the students in the sample spent all of their time outside of school with kin and close friends. And, regardless of age, twenty-two of the twenty-four students (or 91.7 per cent) reported significant family responsibilities. Only eight students in the sample reported participation in extra-curricular activities at their schools, most of this minimal. When asked about participation in extra-curricular activities at school, one high school student replied: "I never did join much of anything. I never join things at school, because when I get out of school, I just want to go home."

Family responsibilities were very similar across the sample, with child care (babysitting), housework, family and household errands, and in some cases driving kin around in the family car as the most frequently reported activities. Of the two students in the sample who did not report significant family responsibilities, one was living in a Boys' Home, and the other was living with an aunt in the city as a result of rather special circumstances on the home reservation. In the latter case, the student continued to maintain some responsibilities towards reservation kin, including remittances from part-time earnings to these kin, although general family responsibilities for this individual were not as heavy or time-consuming as those reported by others in the sample.

As a supplement to responsibilities at home, sixteen of the students in the sample reported working for pay. Eleven of these reported contributing to family incomes in the city (and sometimes on the reservation) in addition to helping to support themselves in the city.

All student essays about families (see Appendix IX) reflected strong family ties. For example, one high school student wrote:

> My family means a lot to me, and I know they feel the same way about me. They are the only ones who ever really understood me and cared for me. There will never be another family in the whole world like the one I have now. If they suddenly disappeared, I would be the saddest and loneliest person around. I guess I would die, because I have loved them since I was born.
>
> We all have fun together. We sometimes tease or play jokes on each other. We like going to weddings, but sometimes we just like to have dinners in New Mexico, and invite all of our relatives.
>
> My parents mean very much to me. They have helped me through thick and thin. My aunt and uncle mean a lot to me, too. They will help me out on my money problems if I buy something big. And my brother and sister help me with my homework. Without my family, I am nothing.

Another high school student wrote:

> There is no use to be on earth without a family.

Urban and Reservation Kin

Ablon noted that research in urban sociology has demonstrated that although participation in voluntary formal groups is an important part of urban social life, formal social interaction is more characteristic of the upper classes, while informal or kinship-based social interaction is more characteristic of the lower or working classes (1964:301). Other studies of urban kinship in various non-Indian settings make the same point (see Bott 1971; Firth 1964; Firth et. al. 1970; Gans 1962; Willmott and Young 1960; and Young and Willmott 1965, 1973).

The importance of kin in cities and on home reservations for urban Indians has been documented by many studies (see for example Ablon 1963, 1964, 1965; Dowling 1968; Graves 1970; Hanson 1960; Hirabayashi and Willard 1962; Hodge 1969; McEntire et. al. 1958; and Waddell 1969).

In contrast to most other urban residents in the United States, American Indians usually have extremely important emotional ties with their home reservation areas in addition to ties with kin living on home reservations. Nevertheless, they are not unique. Glazer and Moynihan (1964) describe the importance given to ties with Puerto

Rico by Puerto Rican migrants to New York City, while Caldwell (1969), Jacobson (1973), and Ross and Weisner (1977) describe much the same kind of continued attachment to home areas among urban migrants in Ghana, Uganda, and Kenya. The strength of Indian attachments to reservations may, therefore, reflect the recency of their migration to the cities, although these ties may also be reinforced by the ease with which people now travel between cities and reservations.

Hodge (1969; see especially Chapter Four) studied 275 adult Navajos living in Albuquerque, New Mexico, between July 1959 and June 1961. The Navajo migrants observed by Hodge viewed both their home reservations and the city of Albuquerque as parts of the same whole or total system, and moved back and forth within a perceived reservation-urban continuum. Most of these people continued to show an interest in clan affiliations to the point of maintaining clan exogamy in the city, preferred their reservation to the city, and eventually planned to retire on their home reservation. Few belonged to, or were active in Anglo urban organizations.

Hirabayashi and Willard (1962:19-22) found that in the summer of 1961, Navajos in the Bay Area maintained strong ties with their home reservation, extended their clan relationships to the city, applied social sanctions through kinship channels, and carried out considerable mutual aid in the city, with priority sometimes given to matrilineal clan members.

With some variations according to cultural or tribal background (as for example an emphasis among Navajos upon maintaining matrilineal clan affiliations and clan exogamy in the city), strong ties with both home areas and kin on home reservations were true of the majority of Indians (and Eskimos) encountered during my study between 1965 and 1969. For example, over half of the students in the 1968-1969 school sample were planning trips to their home reservations that same year, with or without their urban kin. Also, five students actually made trips back to their home reservations during the time of the study, four of these in order to fulfill ceremonial obligations. Finally, several families of students in the sample were visited in the Bay Area by kin from home reservations during the 1968-1969 school year.

Fifteen students in the 1968-1969 school sample, or 62.5 per cent stated that they spent time on their home reservations at least once each year (and sometimes more often) independently of kin in the city. One student returned to her home reservation along with her urban family every summer in order to stay in the family's reservation home for the duration of the summer.

With respect to frequencies of return to home reservations, where rates of return included trips in the company of urban kin, sixteen of the students in the 1968-1969 school sample, or 66.7 per cent stated that they made regular trips to their home reservations once or more each year. Two students, or 8.3 per cent returned to their home reservations every two years, four, or 16.7 per cent did so less often than once every two years, and two, or 8.3 per cent did not return to their home reservations at all. In the two cases where students did not return to their home reservations, one was the Choctaw-Afro-American who had no affiliation with a reservation, while the other was the Arapaho-Hispano who was living with her Hispano mother and non-Indian stepfather at the time of the study.

All but three of the students' urban families showed rates of return to home reservations comparable to those of the students. In two of the three cases where there were differences in rates of return to home reservations by a student and the student's urban family, the families returned to the reservation more often than the students. In one of these cases where the family returned to the reservation more often that the student, the student had a very young child to care for in the city, was trying to graduate from high school on schedule, and found it difficult to find time for school, home responsibilities, and trips to the reservation. In the other case where the family returned to the reservation more often than the student, the student was in elementary school, and was often left in the city with siblings under the care of the maternal grandmother while the parents made trips to their home reservation, frequently in order to fulfill ceremonial obligations. In this particular instance, the maternal grandmother was living more or less permanently with her daughter's government-relocated family, having moved to the city by personal choice in order to live with her daughter following the death of her husband.

In the one case in the school sample where the student returned to her home reservation more often than her family, the student had become seriously truant following her parents' separation. After two or three detentions in Juvenile Hall for severe truancy, her mother began sending her back to the reservation for frequent visits in hopes that contact with relatives on the reservation would help control her emotions and subsequent rebellion.

At the first sign of genuine difficulty in the city, many Indians in the Bay Area in the late 1960's chose to return to their home reservations. Remaining in the city away from kin and facing the humiliation of unemployment, illness, and the like without the support of kin was seen as a double burden. Apparently many people reasoned that when one had to face genuine difficulty, it was best to do so surrounded by the security of kin and home territory.

Ablon noted that in the early 1960's, Indian migrants to the Bay Area who were faced with economic or other difficulties did not usually take their problems to a community welfare agency. Instead, they tended to return to their home reservations. At that time, many Indians either did not know about the existence of urban agencies which could help them, or felt apprehensive about approaching those agencies which they did know existed (1965:367-370). However, by the late 1960's, some Indians in the Bay Area had become extremely adept at managing the use of public agencies. For the most part these were people who had lived in the San Francisco Bay Area for many years.

This apparently increasing familiarity with urban facilities may have reflected the time which had elapsed between Ablon's study in the early 1960's and my study, including the experience many Indians had gained with city life in the meantime. For example, the parents of one student in the 1968-1969 school sample had successfully approached public agencies, including the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, in order to obtain low-cost medical and dental care for their ten children. Nevertheless, in contrast to the many migrants who were successfully using urban facilities, a considerable number of people whom I observed were, as Ablon found, probably more likely to return to their home reservations and seek help from kin than to remain in the city and approach community agencies in times of serious difficulty. The alcoholic father of one unadjusted student and the alcoholic mother of another unadjusted student in the school sample, both of whom had returned to their home reservations, were cases in point.

Generally unknown to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other local agencies was the fact that in the early 1960's, a three-man Navajo Tribal Relocation Committee made frequent visits to the Bay Area in order to meet with relocatees in closed meetings conducted in the Navajo language. This committee also visited Bay Area Navajos at home and at work in order to observe their situations. In some cases the committee persuaded unsuccessful relocatees to return to the Navajo reservation, even buying their bus tickets and paying delinquent rent or other bills on occasion. Some individuals who were persuaded to return home were given wage labour on the reservation paid for out of Navajo tribal funds. As a result of these policies and activities, during the early 1960's there was a positive feeling of identification with the Navajo Tribal Council among many Bay Area relocatees (Hirabayashi and Willard 1962:17-19).

Most Indian residents of the Bay Area between 1965 and 1969 were homesick for their kin back home, regardless of how good their jobs or standard of living in the city. Also, many did not have telephone. The reason for this was usually that families had run up astronomical phone bills calling relatives back home or accepting collect calls from relatives, and eventually the phone company had disconnected their phones. Those who did have telephones frequently spent a considerable amount of money on long distance calls to relatives. A common gift for birthdays and other special occasions was to give a sister, brother, or other relative money to call home. Often, the amount of money spent by families for calls to relatives back home exceeded 100 dollars per month for as many as three or four months out of each year.

The motivation to return to reservations for visits often resulted in urban Indians driving tremendous distances over a single weekend. Occasionally I was invited to visit reservations for a weekend with different families. Each time we would leave the very minute the husband got off work on a Friday afternoon, and drive directly to the reservation. Sometimes the distances travelled averaged a third or more of the breadth of the continental United States each way. This meant that people drove all night on Friday without sleeping after having worked all week, and repeated this performance on Sunday in order to report for work as usual on Monday.

The object of such marathon driving was to spend as much time as possible during the weekend with relatives on the reservation. Furthermore, the excitement of people returning home was considerable, and may have accounted for much of the energy needed to work all week, and then drive all night and sometimes part of the next day in order to reach impressive destinations. Ablon and Price (personal conversations) also noted the tendency for American Indians living in the Bay Area and Los Angeles to make marathon trips to their home reservations, often on a moment's notice. The average number of visits to reservations per year depended on what families or individuals living in the Bay Area in the late 1960's could afford, but even the poorest families sometimes managed two or three trips a year. And there were always gifts for the people back home: food staples such as sacks of potatoes or cases of canned goods, dresses, baby garments or other articles of clothing, and perhaps furniture or appliances. In addition, people visiting home reservations would often take relatives to a grocery store and pay for a load of groceries, or take children to a nearby store and outfit them with school clothing. In one case I observed a man pay a bill which came to over one hundred dollars for groceries selected by parents. In another case, I saw a family in the city order $50.00 worth of school clothing from a catalogue for each of several nieces and nephews on the home reservation.

These observations are important because they demonstrated that in addition to people who "dropped out", or that is left the Bay Area in order to return to home reservations, those who remained in the city tended to maintain close contacts with reservation kin. Furthermore, most Indians I met in the Bay Area thought of their reservations and not the Bay Area as "home". Some gave a good portion of their incomes, often in the form of gifts including food, clothing, furniture, and appliances to relatives on reservations. Many said that they had come to Bay Area to make a living, but intended to retire on their home reservations. In these respects, Indian residents of the Bay Area resembled other rural-urban migrants. For example, Caldwell (1969:86, 123, 124) and Ross and Weisner (1977:361) found similar patterns among rural-urban migrants in Ghana and Kenya. Caldwell reported that migration to cities and return to towns in Ghana bound towns and home villages together in a complex relationship, one aspect of which was economic. Among other things, migration to cities raised the standard of living of rural kin through the flow of wealth from towns. Remittances from cities to home areas often took the form of presents, and urban-rural remittances were variously classified by some migrants as town expenditures, and by others as rural savings. Some forms of rural remittances were taken so much for granted by persons surveyed during Caldwell's research that they were not listed on questionnaires as specifically planned or current expenditures. Finally, like Navajo migrants to the Bay Area described by Hirabayashi and Willard (1962:19), Jacobson (1973:11) found that urban migrants from various tribal backgrounds in Uganda expected to see fellow tribesmen in their homelands, and that the expectation of future interaction lent credibility to urban friendships and served to maintain social order within the urban context.

For an indication of the strength of feeling directed towards reservation kin by Indian migrants to the San Francisco Bay Area, consider the statement of one Central Basin Indian woman:

> We came here because of jobs, and our relatives back home say we're better off. My husband and I want to retire back home. My kids do O.K. in school, especially the two youngest, who are doing very well in school. But I haven't seen my mother and my sister since last Christmas, and I'm so lonesome! (Summer 1968).

Also, consider the case of a Plateau Indian couple who had lived in the Bay Area for several years. The husband was a college graduate, and held a good job as a technician in a local industrial firm. The couple's standard of living was excellent--middle-class by appearance. They attended all possible Pow Wows, and usually travelled the Pan-Indian Pow Wow circuit during the summer. Since the husband was a superb dancer, he often won prizes in Pow Wow dance contests. The couple seemed happy, had many Indian friends in the Bay Area, and led an active social life. Yet in 1970 they returned to their home reservation because, as the husband put it, "Life in the Bay Area was so stifling. We are very happy to be home" (conversation, Summer 1970).

Families and Incomes

It is difficult to estimate the percentages of "unadjusted" people, of organized poor families, of working-class families, and of middle-class and elite Indian families in the Bay Area by 1969 without complete information about each of these groups. However, one source of data does give some indication of the success of Indians living in the Bay Area by 1969, or the actual year for which income statistics for the 1970 census were tabulated (see Appendix V).

Data gathered during the 1970 Census demonstrated a median income of $8,790.00 and a mean income of $9,745.00 for 2,522 Indian families living in the San Francisco-Oakland area. Compare this with a median income of $6,175.00, and a mean income of $6,503.00 for a total of 3,937 Indian males over sixteen years of age living in San Francisco-Oakland in 1970 (3,439 of these with incomes), as well as a median income of $2,674.00, and a mean income of $3,389.00 for a total of 4,122 Indian females over sixteen years of age in San

Francisco-Oakland in 1970 (2,793 of those with incomes; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:160, 170).

From these figures it seems likely that the majority of Indian families in the San Francisco-Oakland area in 1969-1970 included more than one person in the labour force. This was certainly the case for the twenty families of the twenty-four students included in the 1968-1969 school sample. Fifteen of these families, or 75.0 per cent had working mothers, three, or 15.0 per cent (including two Navajo families and one Pueblo family) had more than one adult female in the labour force, and ten families, or 50.0 per cent had full-time or occasional family residents other than parents who were working in the Bay Area and contributing to incomes of student families. In addition, sixteen of the students in the sample, or 66.7 per cent reported that they themselves worked for pay at the time of the study. Eleven of these students reported contributing to urban family incomes.

In addition to indications that Indian families in the San Francisco-Oakland area were often composed of more than one wage-earner by 1969-1970, many families seemed to be moving into the "middle-class" (refer to Appendix V). For example, 1970 census figures demonstrated a statistical lumping of Indian families with incomes of

$10,000.00 and up. During that census year, 274 families out of a total of 2,522 Indian families in San Francisco-Oakland, or 10.9 per cent of all Indian families living in that area had incomes in the $10,000.00 to $11,999.00 category; 347 families, or 13.8 per cent had incomes in the $12,000.00 to $14,999.00 category; and 408 families, or 16.2 per cent had incomes in the $15,000.00 to $24,999.00 category. Furthermore, fifty-one Indian families, or 2.02 per cent had incomes of $25,000.00 and over. Thus, approximately 42.8 per cent of all Indian families resident in the San Francisco-Oakland area during 1969-1970 had incomes of $10,000.00 or more.

The 1969-1970 income statistics for families in San Jose were comparable to San Francisco-Oakland, though higher, with a median income of $9,802.00 and a mean income of $10,209.00 for a total of 1,036 Indian families living in San Jose. For purposes of comparison, in 1970 a total of 1,383 Indian males in San Jose over the age of sixteen (1,262 of these with incomes) had a median income of $7,015.00, and a mean income of $6,642.00. At the same time, a total of 1,356 Indian females over sixteen years of age in San Jose in 1970 (906 of these with incomes) had a median income of $2,348.00, and a mean income of $3,334.00. Thus, in 1969-1970, Indian families in San Jose were, like San Francisco-Oakland, probably largely composed of more than one person in the labour force. Also comparable to San Francisco-Oakland, 48.5 per cent out of a total of 1,036 Indian families in San Jose in 1969-1970 had incomes of over $10,000.00, with a statistical lumping of 134 families, or 12.9 per cent at the $10,000.00 to $11,999.00 level of income; 175 families, or 16.9 per cent at the $12,000.00 to $14,999.00 level of income; 180 families, or 17.4 per cent at the $15,000.00 to $24,999.00 level of income; and 13 families, or 1.3 per cent with incomes of $25,000.00 and over (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973b:160, 170; refer also to Appendix V).

These statistics on family incomes indicate that regardless of cultural or other variables, by the late 1960's there was an emerging group of middle-income Indian families in the San Francisco Bay Area. Moreover, due to an emphasis on sharing among kin, many of these apparently middle-class urban Indian families were redistributing considerable portions of their incomes among kin living on home reservations and elsewhere. Patterns of sharing among kin may have explained much of the relative "invisibility" of many middle-income urban Indian families. Rather than spending all of their money on themselves, these families often maintained material standards of living which were "lower" than those of whites with equivalent incomes, and chose instead to invest a good portion of their resources in extended kinship networks which were distributed over a wide geographical area.

Significantly, almost all of the students in the 1968-1969 school sample, as well as a large number of people in the broader informal sample encountered between 1965-1969 thought of themselves as middle-class. This was especially true for persons living in family situations. Furthermore, many Indians who were living in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960's considered themselves financially better off than most of the surrounding population. Some spoke openly about the necessity to live in "good neighbourhoods" in order to provide proper environments for their children. At one point, two traditionally-oriented Pueblo students in the school sample stated that they considered themselves members of the middle-class, and led a spirited debate with others who were present regarding the merits of middle-class status. An important part of their definition of middle-class status included family ownership of a good-quality colour television set.

Formal Interaction

Ablon cited a study by Zimmer (1955) which found that the main variables affecting the degree of migrant participation in formal urban groups in a Mid-Western town in the United States tended to be length of residence in the city, the nature of a migrant's life experiences before migration, level of education, and type of work. Zimmer's study also found that although urban natives and migrants varied in degree of participation in urban structures, migrants became more similar to natives as their length of residence in the city increased. Urban-urban migrants entered formal organizations more readily than rural-urban migrants, and rural manual labourers and those with the least education entered community activities at the slowest rate (Zimmer 1955; see also Ablon 1964:301).

The San Francisco Bay Area is a "conurbation", or continuously urbanized metropolitan strip stretching from below San Jose in the south through Richmond, Martinez, and other adjacent communities to the north. There is little open space between cities, and signs here and there are often the only indication that one city has ended and another is beginning. Local government and administrative details, architecture, and degree of affluence varies between and within adjacent cities, but there is also much which tends to mold the total metropolitan region together as a single unit or subculture.

Many Indians whom I observed in the late 1960's were too mobile to confine themselves either conceptually or strategically to any one part of the Bay Area for long. With the aid of cars and urban transportation, most who had been in the city long enough to adjust to its facilities found little difficulty getting around. By 1969, the structure of the local Indian community and its associated Pan-Indian activities reflected this "conurbation demography". No meeting, Pow Wow, rock and roll dance, or other Indian community event was too far away for those who really wanted to attend. Cooperation in providing rides to events was common, and those who could afford cars usually helped those who could not (see the section titled "Informal Interaction" in this chapter). In addition, the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland and the San Francisco and San Jose Indian Centers frequently organized transportation to major events for those who would not otherwise have been able to attend. Thus, neither the scattered nature of the Indian and Eskimo population in the Bay Area, nor the vast space which contained it seemed to impede the development and maintenance of a sense of community based on networks of interaction and a common identity.

With the exception of Santa Fe Indian Village, which represented a very specialized situation, there were no true Indian enclaves in any part of the San Francisco Bay Area in the 1960's (see Chapter One, as well as the section titled "Socio-Economic Characteristics" in this chapter). Instead, the so-called Indian community was a community of identity and interaction, with certain nodes in the interactional network where Indians came together for formal activities and larger community events. For an indication of nodes in this interactional network by 1969, see Appendix VI.

At the base of the Indian community interactional network was a huge, complex, and nebulous web of informal social relationships and kinship activities. Within the interactional network, an increasing number of Indian community activities and associations were forming at certain points or nodes in the total interactional field. And, whether or not people chose to participate in formal Indian community groups, most Indians who had lived in the Bay Area for a time were familiar with the local Indian organizations, and kept some track of larger Indian community events.

Supplementing the personal interaction networks of Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's was a "moccasin telegraph", or informal word-of-mouth and telephone communications network. Many people and their children seemed to know what friends and relatives in the area were doing at any given time, even if they lived considerable distances away, and gossip spread rapidly. For example, one Northwest Coast male who had lived in the Bay Area for an extended period of time five years earlier eventually returned for a visit. Within three days and two evenings of travelling between various Indian bars and the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, this man was able to "catch up on all the news" regarding many old friends. The first thing he did upon arriving in Oakland was to begin "making the rounds". He seemed eager to learn all news missed over the past five years, and fairly satisfied with the results of his investigation. Almost all of the remaining time during his visit was spent in following up old contacts and tracing any gaps in the gossip network which he might have missed during his initial inquiries.

Between 1961 and 1963, Ablon observed that communications from the visible Indian community to people who did not participate in formal Indian community events were carried out through individual and family contacts.

Many of these contacts were based on tribal affiliations, connections via home reservations, proximity of residence in the city, and early acquaintances made at BIA offices (1963:96).

New contacts with other Indians in the Bay Area were often made in "Indian bars" or other public places. Many friendships were begun with people met at places of employment, or who were recognized as Indians and approached in stores, clinics, and on the street. Chance encounters in public places or at work often led to invitations for visits in homes (Ablon 1964:298).

At the time of Ablon's study, most people tended to frequent Indian centers when they first arrived in the city. However, the majority of people eventually levelled participation in formal Indian community events to the largest activities of the year, including Christmas parties, special-occasion dinners, and the annual Labour Day and Memorial Day picnics and Pow Wows. Some people occasionally dropped by the Intertribal Friendship House or the San Francisco Indian Center for a short visit. Thus, formal groups often served to give new arrivals the security of an Indian meeting place, and an opportunity to interact with others like themselves as they adjusted to their new life in the city (1964:301-302). Many people who attended the larger annual Pow Wows rarely attended other formal affairs. At major Pow Wows, "1,500 or so Indians (and white observers) socialized, participated in the Pow Wow, looked at the exhibits, and watched the crowning of an annual Bay Area Indian Princess" (1963:92).

At the time of Ablon's study, most formal Indian organizations in the San Francisco Bay Area were composed of a stable group of core planners, some of whom were active in more than one group. This was still the case between 1965 and 1969, with many of the same people who were active in the early 1960's continuing to participate in the planning and organization of Indian community activities. Other patterns observed by Ablon remained stable throughout the 1960's, including methods of contacting urban Indians and establishing friendships, the use of formal groups by new arrivals, and rates of participation in formal Indian community events. Variations on Ablon's findings by the end of the 1960's included a general increase in the total number of Indian community organizations, services, and activities, as well as the effects of this increase on the Indian community as a whole. This expanding number of Indian organizations, services, and activities was proportional to the greater number of Indians in the Bay Area by that time, as well as to their apparently increasing affluence (see Appendix V, and the section titled "Families and Incomes" in this chapter).

Between 1965-1969, most formal Bay Area Indian community events which I observed included children. Except for "Indian bars", children were seen at meetings, in church, at rock and roll dances, at Pow Wows, and so on. People usually either left their children with relatives, or took them everywhere they went. Since it was assumed that they would be included in most events, Indian children thus had an opportunity to observe activities of all types and people of all ages, and were never strictly isolated or age-graded within the urban Indian community. At the same time, they were learning to value the Bay Area Indian community and its activities. This feature of urban Indian behaviour may have important consequences for the development and permanence of Indian organizations, services, and activities within the San Francisco Bay Area.

By 1969, Native Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area had succeeded in organizing an increasing number of formal organizations, as well as an effective political leadership for some purposes (see Appendix VI). Furthermore, income data for Bay Area Indians indicated an increasing proportion of middle-class families (see Appendix V, and the section titled "Families and Incomes" in this chapter). Increasing affluence meant that more people were able to participate in local Indian community events and other Pan-Indian activities, if they so desired. Significantly, "standard of living" did not seem as important in predicting participation in formal Indian community events as did individual and informal group identity, family preferences, opportunities to observe other urban Indians, and general proximity to new trends in urbanization, Pan-Indianism, and Indian politics.

Information on the growth of urban Indian community activities, Indian political organizations, and Pan-Indianism in the Bay Area between 1961-1963 and 1969 can be gained by comparing Ablon's data (1964:299) with Appendix VI. For more recent discussions of the development or urban ethnic institutions by Native people in both the U.S. and Canada, see Price and McCaskill (1974), and Price (1975).

Pan-Indianism

Between 1965 and 1969, Bay Area Pow Wows increased in both frequency and size. In addition, Indian sports activities and weekly all-Indian rock and roll dances had become so large that the numbers of people attending these events had to be included in any survey of participation in formal social affairs. By 1969, the occupation of Alcatraz Island and other political developments were likewise mobilizing some Indians for formal social interaction with a specific purpose. Partly due to the increasing Indian population, as well as to an emerging political leadership and related trends, Pan-Indianism in the Bay Area was definitely on the rise. And, along with a greater number of activities among Bay Area Indians themselves, people from outside of the area were attending and participating in local Indian community events. Dancers, singers, and observers from Los Angeles, Arizona, Nevada, and other out-of-state locations attended most of the larger annual Pow Wows. By 1966, Aztec Fire Dancers who were supposedly from Mexico City were dancing in major Bay Area Pow Wows. In 1968, a travelling caravan of traditionally religious Indians from Arizona and Nevada stopped at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland to give a public lecture on their religion and "help bring all Indians together". Attendance at their lecture included perhaps 90-100 enthusiastic people of various backgrounds.

Ablon noticed that many people said they did not develop a "real" interest in Indian affairs or Indian (Pow Wow) dancing before moving to the city. Some individuals who had previously lived in areas near reservations said that they associated more with Indians in the city than they had at home. Often, Pow Wow dancers in the city had not previously participated in Pow Wows on their home reservations due to drinking associated with these events, or because of Protestant religious affiliations which prohibited dancing (1963:97).

As an example of rates of participation in Pan-Indian affairs, twelve students in the 1968-1969 school sample, or fifty per cent stated that they attended Bay Area Pow Wows as often as possible. One of these, a fifteen year old male, was learning Pan-Indian singing and drumming, and often performed with groups of singers and drummers at Bay Area Pow Wows. In all twelve cases of Pow Wow participation, the students' families, especially female kin such as older sisters, mothers, and mothers' sisters, attended Pow Wows as often as the students. This observation seemed to indicate that Pow Wow attendance was largely a family activity. Finally, in two cases where the students' families attended Pow Wows as often as the students, the students' fathers sang and drummed in Pow Wow singing groups at most major Pow Wows.

In five cases, or 20.8 per cent of the school sample, students reported that they attended Bay Area

Pow Wows only occasionally. Four of these five cases included occasional rates of family attendance at Pow Wows which were the same as the students' rates of attendance, and where Pow Wow attendance was again a family event. In one of the four cases where both a student and his family attended Bay Area Pow Wows only occasionally, the student stated that his family spent most of their free time with relatives in Oakland, including relatives who lived directly next door. In the fifth case of occasional attendance by a student, the student sometimes attended Pow Wows in the company of his Indian friends, while his parents remained primarily occupied with their own Santa Fe Indian Village and home reservation activities.

In two cases in the 1968-1969 school sample, members of the students' urban families attended Bay Area Pow Wows more often than the students. In one of these cases, the student almost always babysat for the young children of her kin so that the adult relatives with whom she was living, all of whom worked full-time, could manage Pow Wow attendance in one very small family car. These same relatives then provided the student with rides to all-Indian rock and roll dances or other events which she wished to attend. In the other case where members of a student's family attended Pow Wows more often than the student, the student tended to remain at home in order to help the older sister with whom she was living. The older sister worked full-time and complained of constant fatigue. Thus, both sisters usually remained at home in order to babysit while the older sister's husband attended Pow Wows with his male friends. The student stated that both she and her sister planned to attend Pow Wows as soon as the sister's children were older.

Five students in the 1968-1969 school sample reported no attendance at Bay Area Pow Wows. Two of these were living in Santa Fe Indian Village, and in both cases, the students and their families were primarily concerned with Santa Fe Indian Village and home reservation activities. The other three students in the sample who did not attend Pow Wows included a resident of a Boys' Home, the Choctaw-Afro-American, and a member of a mixed Oklahoma Indian and white family whose primarily "Indian activity" was visiting relatives in Oklahoma each summer.

Because of their size, diversified participants, and general character, Bay Area Pow Wows probably represented a new type of urban Pan-Indian development. Unlike many reservation events, Bay Area Pow Wows were dignified family and social affairs with minimal public evidence of serious drinking or other commotion. After all, if one wanted to drink, one could always go to

Indian bars or to the homes of friends. Thus, Bay Area Pow Wows appeared to serve different purposes than many of their reservation counterparts. In contrast to the open expression of rebellion observed during events on some reservations, Bay Area Pow Wows were sophisticated social events meant to provide family relaxation, entertainment, an opportunity to meet other Indians, and the chance to engage in Pan-Indian and tribal dancing, singing, and related activities of interest to many Indians. Music and dancing skills exhibited at these Pow Wows were extremely sophisticated. The larger annual Pow Wows attracted singers and dancers from out-of-state locations as well as from throughout California, and displayed a large variety of performances and skills. In addition to skilled performances, there were dances in which everyone regardless of skill could participate, and where even tiny children were applauded for their efforts. Even where people attended Bay Area Pow Wows for the purpose of observation rather than direct participation, and especially if they went with groups of friends or relatives, the result was usually a very pleasant outing.

Occasionally the sounds from outdoor drumming, singing, and bells on male dancers' outfits carried long distances. In that case, people living near suburban parks in the Bay Area where Pow Wows were held sometimes called the police and complained about the noise, especially when Pow Wows continued after midnight. Picnic and Pow Wow Planning Committees soon solved this minor problem by scheduling major Pow Wows further away from suburban residential areas.

Most Pow Wows in Bay Area in the late 1960's were open to the public. When an admission fee was charged in order to pay park rental costs, subsidize dance contest prizes, and raise money for future Indian community events, the price was often higher for non-Indians than for Indians. Police patrolled Bay Area Pow Wows as they would have supervised any other public event, and their routine patrols were largely uneventful.

Both the absence of older Native Americans at Bay Area Pow Wows and the prosperity of dancers were striking. In fact, the relative affluence of these urban residents in the late 1960's may have been partly responsible for their increasing participation in local events and the summertime Pan-Indian Pow Wow circuit. Pow Wow paraphernalia such as dance outfits, camping equipment, and teepees was expensive, as was transportation, especially where families attended local Pow Wows on a regular basis and travelled the Pan-Indian Pow Wow circuit during the summer. In 1969 a proper Plains-style male dancer's outfit cost at least $200.00 for feathers, beads, leather, bells, tights, moccasins, and "warpaint", not including labour. In many cases, dancers paid Indian women in the area or on their home reservations to construct parts of dance outfits, especially where these parts were heavily beaded, or otherwise technically exacting. Furthermore, many people had two, three or even more elegant outfits which they wore on alternate days during major Pow Wows, and there was some competition among dancers for increasingly outstanding dress. The potential for males in particular to receive attention and public recognition for spectacular dance outfits and excellent dancing was considerable. I was constantly impressed by the large number of extremely well-outfitted men, women, and children at Bay Area Pow Wows in comparison to many reservations, or even in comparison to five major Pow Wows in Western states observed between 1965 and 1969. Furthermore, the number of well-outfitted participants seemed to expand between 1965 and 1969. And, each year Pow Wow songs and dancing, as well as the styles of Pan-Indian outfits seemed to be increasingly influenced by the national Pan-Indian Pow Wow circuit. Many people recorded songs on tape recorders at various Pow Wows, and then played these recordings back in cars as they travelled in order to memorize as many new songs as possible.

Ablon stated that in the early 1960's, Navajos were not generally dancing in Bay Area Pow Wows (1964:300). Between 1965 and 1969, Navajos attended most larger Pow Wows, and some Navajos performed specialty dances or joined in the general Pan-Indian dancing. In 1966 a team of Navajo girls and a Chippewa girl danced the Navajo Gourd Dance in full dress at the annual Labour Day Pow Wow. In both 1968 and 1969, Navajos were chosen as Bay Area Indian Princesses.

Ablon noticed that some Indian residents of the Bay Area did not care for the urban Pow Wows or other Pan-Indian events, and instead preferred their own home community events, with their own tribal dances, religious observations, relatives, friends, and traditional foods (ibid.). This was also my observation, although by the late 1960's, people voicing such opinions were less common. Those holding such opinions tended to be from conservative groups like the Pueblos, where traditional celebrations and religious events were still practiced, and where Pan-Indianism was not generally important. However, some traditional people, including two of the Pueblo students in the 1968-1969 school sample and their families attended as many Bay Area Pow Wows as possible.

By the late 1960's, the larger, annual Bay Area Pow Wows displayed a mixture of all types of people, including "traditionalists" who wore tribal outfits rather than Pan-Indian dress, and who sometimes danced tribal dances for the crowd. Thus, major annual Pow Wows in the Bay Area (and many smaller Pow Wows as well) seemed to offer something for everyone, and to present a flexible format for the expression of Indian identity.

In addition to the well-known Plains-style Pan-Indian symbolism, Southwestern silver and turquoise jewelry was an increasingly common symbol of Pan-Indianism for Indians living in the Bay Area in the late 1960's. Though silver and turquoise jewelry as a Pan-Indian symbol was neither new nor confined to the Bay Area, increasing affluence as a result of urbanization may have made it more accessible.

Between 1965 and 1969, the number of American Indians in the Bay Area who were making and selling Indian arts and crafts seemed to be expanding. Indian arts and crafts had become regular projects for Indian women's clubs and children's groups, and there were many people who took custom orders for beadwork, moccasins, and other items to be completed in their spare time. By 1969 there were two trading posts in Oakland, and several supply firms in Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose which catered to the needs of Native American artists and craftspeople, as well as to Boy Scouts and other non-Indian hobbyists. Exhibits at most of the larger Bay Area Pow Wows included beadwork, weaving, leatherwork, painting, and various other arts and crafts. By the mid 1960's or possibly earlier, the Museum of Indian Arts of the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco began holding professional exhibits of paintings and other works of art by noted contemporary Native American artists. About 1966, the Annual East Bay Home and Exciting Living Show in Oakland began including Indian food and homemaking skills, dancing, and arts and crafts displays as regular features.

By 1968 there were two Indian publications in the Bay Area in addition to monthly Indian Center bulletins. The Indian Historian, a journal published by the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco first appeared in 1964, and a new, professionally-printed series of the journal was begun in December of 1967. During the summer of 1968, a publication by United Native Americans, Incorporated of San Francisco titled Warpath made its debut. At the University of California in Berkeley and at San Francisco State College in San Francisco, newly formed Indian Studies programs were discussing possibilities for publications. Between 1965 and 1969, American Indians from outside of the Bay Area who were publishing Indian newspapers or magazines sometimes tried to increase the circulation of these periodicals by announcing subscription rates and other details to assembled crowds at Bay Area Pow Wows.

By approximately 1965, "all-Indian" rock and roll dances in San Francisco and Oakland had become enormously popular. These dances were especially important for teenagers and young people, who looked forward to them as an opportunity to meet others of the same age. However, the dances were not exclusively attended by younger people, since older people and couples with young children often came and sat on the sidelines. "Alaskans" or Eskimos likewise participated in the dances, frequently clustering together at one end of the dance floor, or standing in groups in the parking lot joking, laughing, and talking.

Thirteen of the nineteen high school students in the 1968-1969 school sample reported attendance at all-Indian rock and roll dances. Twelve of these said that they attended the dances as often as possible, usually in the company of carloads of Indian friends and relatives (see the section titled "Peer Groups" in Chapter Four). Four of the high school students who attended rock and roll dances as often as possible reported that other members of their urban families also went with them, including siblings, siblings' spouses, or parents.

Other than the fact that almost everyone in attendance at all-Indian rock and roll dances was an Indian or an Eskimo, and that the bands were composed of Indian rock and roll musicians, these dances were very similar (if not identical) to rock and roll dances which were held throughout North America during the 1960's. Drinking at Bay Area all-Indian rock and roll dances or in the parking lots was sometimes a problem, and there were occasional fights and complaints about littering. On the other hand, drug use was neither apparent nor common. To help control "incidents", committees organizing rock and roll dances hired Native American chaperons to patrol the dance floors and parking lots. At any sign of drinking or fighting, the offending individuals were usually asked to leave. In addition, ticket-takers handling the admission gates inspected people for possession of liquor as they came in the door. At one point police personnel were stationed in the rest rooms during Oakland rock and roll dances in order to help control any drinking which might have occurred at these locations. Dances held in San Francisco had a reputation for being "rougher" than those in the East Bay. However, drinking, fighting, and "horsing around" were probably no more frequent during San Francisco and Oakland all-Indian rock and roll dances than during any other rock and roll dances for young people in the Bay Area. There may in fact have been less such activity at all-Indian rock and roll dances, since social committees planning these dances seemed very eager to prevent mishaps. During meetings for organizing youth activities, planners discussed the importance of rock and roll dances for young people who were alone in the city without their kin, and spent considerable effort wracking their brains for effective means of controlling adolescent antics. Planners stated that lack of control might force them to cancel the dances, and no one wanted that because "the dances are so important to our young people".

The Native American Church

By the late 1960's, activities of the Native American Church were very important in the San Francisco Bay Area. All seven Navajo students and the one Pima student in the 1968-1969 school sample reported that they and their families participated in activities of the Native American Church. One Pueblo student in the sample reported participation in peyote ceremonies during a visit to the home reservation at the time of the study. The family of one Navajo student in the sample travelled on a regular basis to as many Native American Church meetings in Nevada, Oklahoma, and elsewhere as they could manage, and had been instrumental in organizing Native American Church activities in the Bay Area. The families of four other students in the sample travelled to ceremonies held throughout the Bay Area and as far away as Nevada as often as possible.

Ablon recorded that a recognized branch of the national Native American Church was established in San Francisco as early as 1961 (1963:83). By 1969, many people participating in Native American Church activities in the Bay Area tended to be Navajos, but there were also Kiowas, Oklahoma people, Pimas, and others. Although there was some local Indian opposition to the Church, this opposition did not technically interfere with the practice or growth of Church activities, since most of it was confined to mild joking or ridicule. Furthermore, since peyote is illegal in California, most members of the Church tried to avoid interference by refusing to discuss their religion with non-members. The resulting secrecy surrounding the Church made it difficult to estimate numbers of participants, although there appeared to be a quiet trend towards increasing participation throughout the 1960's.

For comparison, Hanson observed that only one person in his sample of 29 Bay Area relocatees, a young, single Plains Indian woman from Montana, possessed and used peyote (1960:48).

Ablon noted that Native American Church activities were first organized through the efforts of a middle-aged Navajo couple who settled in the Bay Area during the first months of BIA relocation programs in the 1950's. Initially the couple met with a few Oklahoma people to drum, sing, and discuss their religion. Some members of this early group travelled to Washoe and Paiute areas of Nevada, or to Arizona in order to participate in peyote ceremonies. Eventually the group began holding ceremonies together with Navajo labourers employed in lumber mills in Santa Cruz County.

During its informal stage in the late 1950's, the Church met in secluded places on the San Francisco beach or elsewhere to drum, sing, and pray. Parties and showers were held for members on special occasions. In January of 1961, the group began holding formal Friday evening meetings at one couple's home. Many of the more recent recruits were young Navajos who had either used peyote themselves, or who had observed relatives using peyote on their home reservations. Since several of these younger recruits had problems with alcohol, the lead couple would pray with them in various ways during ceremonies and encourage them to stop drinking (Ablon 1963:84).

Attendance at Friday evening meetings averaged about twenty people, and meeting formats included prayers, pep-talks, discussions about the legal status of peyote, and news of court cases dealing with the use of peyote in Arizona and California. Because the lead couple had previously been harassed for participating in this religion on their home reservation, there was much sympathy for other Native American Church members who experienced difficulties. At one point, the Bay Area group collected $500.00 to aid three Navajos in Southern California who had been arrested for participation in the Church. Throughout the early 1960's, parties and showers continued to be held on special occasions, and Church members helped one another with financial assistance, babysitting, and car repairs. Car pools were formed to travel to Nevado and elsewhere for meetings. Ablon noted that most of the members had received vocational training at federal Indian boarding schools, and that most of the men were carpenters. As a group these people were very sober, responsible, organized in their family lives, and well-dressed (ibid.:84-85).

Except for an increasing membership which included diversification in tribal representation and the occupations of members, my observations of Native American Church activities in the Bay Area between 1965 and 1969 confirmed Ablon's findings. There was good evidence that the emotionally supportive aspects of Church membership encouraged healthy self-esteem and productive social behaviour. In some cases, people with problems with alcohol continued to be stabilized by participation in the Church and its activities.

One student in the 1968-1969 school sample described personal feelings about the Native American Church:

> Peyote is my religion. I get tired of people who keep joking about it. They say, "Are you still on peyote?" Well you don't smoke peyote! (Peyote is not considered a drug, and is not handled casually by the Native American Church. The student is stating that people who joke about peyote often confuse it with drugs such as marijuana, and that this is incorrect.) I've never gotten sick from peyote. I eat it slowly. Sometimes we make a tea. If you just think about getting sick from peyote, then you will. It's all in how you think about it.
>
> The Church is illegal in California, so we have meetings out in the country. No white people are allowed. Only Indians are allowed.

It's easy for Indians to get peyote because we know where to get it. We buy it. We hope peyote never becomes legal, and we try to keep it from becoming legal. You see, if it were legal then anyone could have it, and white people don't appreciate it. They don't understand it, and they misuse it. We don't like that.

(My relatives) are big in the Church back home. (One relative) is a leader. We have a relative back home who used to drink, but he quit when he joined the Church.

We go to meetings in other states whenever we can. There are meetings here as often as somebody wants them. My (relative) who organizes meetings never asks anything in return, but those (Indians in another state) sometimes do. Here, everybody chips in and donates (food and expenses) for the meetings.

Peyote makes you appreciate life, how it should be. A lot of the men who've been drinking see how they were, and why they were drinking, so they quit. I've thought a lot about how you should be married and how you should act, and I'm glad I have taken peyote. I guess that's why I don't drink or smoke anymore, or anything like that. People think that because some of my friends drink, I drink too, because I go around with those friends. Well, I don't think it's immoral or bad to drink. I just don't think it's good for you, so I don't drink when my friends do. I never will because I just don't need to do that. I think this is because of my religion--it makes you think so much about the meaning of life (April 1969).

Three works including bibliographies on the general phenomenon of peyotism and the Native American Church include Aberle (1966), La Barre (1975), and Slotkin (1956).

Relationships with Non-Indians

Despite generally self-contained and family-oriented life styles, some Indian residents of the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles Areas were mixing and intermarrying with non-Indians by the second half of the 1960's. For example, Price's 1966 sample of Los Angeles Indians found that about one-third of married respondents had married whites (1968:171).

In the early 1960's Ablon observed that a large number of Indians living in the Bay Area had only superficial relationships with whites who were either neighbo[illegible] or co-workers at places of employment (1964: 296, 298-302). In addition, Ablon felt that the nature of many Indian-white relationships was a complex blend of inhibitions shaped by the backgrounds of Indians, including past experiences where whites were seen as people to be depended upon in specific situations, but not to be trusted as friends. Moreover, Indian dependency relationships with whites were common because many Indians, especially full-bloods, had previously encountered little opportunity for completely egalitarian relationships with whites. Thus, even in the city, Indians usually associated with other full and mixed-bloods like themselves. When intermarriage with whites occurred, it was often with people from the lowest socio-economic backgrounds. Some Indians were so conditioned to expect rejection from whites through previous experience with people living near their home reservations that friendly whites in the city were never fully trusted. If a white person refused to help an Indian when asked, suspicions of white rejection and latent hostility towards whites often came to the surface, and the offending white was quickly placed in the category of people who used Indians, or who helped Indians only when it was to their own advantage. A large number of Indians never felt completely secure around whites, fearing that if whites learned about their poverty-stricken backgrounds and religious beliefs, this would lead to rejection and ridicule. Thus, many Indian residents of the San Francisco Bay Area in the early 1960's would not permit relationships with whites to proceed beyond a certain line of intimacy, or to the point of egalitarian, responsible friendships.

Ablon further commented that most Indian residents of the Bay Area in the early 1960's would probably have been accepted almost anywhere they wanted to go, but that many were hesitant about being aggressive or competitive, even where invitations were extended and doors opened to them. Well-known personality differences between Indians and whites as documented by Wax and Thomas (1961) were cited as a partial explanation (1964:301-302).

In addition to general patterns of behaviour in the city, the diversity of styles and experiences within the Bay Area Indian population must be emphasized. As an illustration of this diversity, consider the following example:

A 24 year-old Northern California Indian male living in Oakland in 1968-1969 travelled and associated heavily with the Hell's Angels (a much-celebrated and widely-publicized motorcycle gang). When asked to go through their formal initiation ceremony, he declined, since he felt total commitment to the Angels might interfere with his personal identity as an Indian.

> I know them, I drink with them, I smoke (marijuana) with them, I ride with them, sleep with them, and we share what we've got, but I can't join them because I am Indian, and I will

> always be an Indian first.
> I just can't be one of them
> by joining. An Indian has
> to be by himself, so I just
> trail along after them at
> the end. Man, being with
> them is great! For the
> first time in my life I feel
> like I'm part of something
> big, and that I am "Somebody".
> I never felt that way about
> anything before. My bike
> (motorcycle) is broken and
> I have to get it fixed by next
> week. Next week I'm leaving
> for Louisiana with the Angels.
> (Personal conversation,
> December 1967).

Gypsies were one ethnic group with which many Indian residents of the East San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960's had some sustained contact. In fact, most of my information about Gypsies in the Bay Area came from Indians, some of whom seemed to know a great deal about Gypsies, as Gypsies and Indians often lived in the same heterogeneous, working-class neighbourhoods in Richmond and East Oakland. One Oklahoma Indian girl told me that "several families" of Gypsies lived in the flat below her family in East Oakland. "Each person had a big car, and all of the cars were always parked out front. The Gypsies didn't bother anybody, but late one night the Police came, and the next day the Gypsies left" (Fall 1966).

Occasionally Gypsy children or young people attended parties and other events at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. On one or two occasions, teenage Gypsy girls were seen at all-Indian rock and roll dances at the Intertribal Friendship House or elsewhere in Oakland. An older Gypsy woman who lived nearby sometimes used the pay phone in the front hall at the Intertribal Friendship House.

People at the Intertribal Friendship House did not interfere with the occasional Gypsies who appeared from time to time, and it is unlikely that the Gypsies ever interfered with the House or its activities. The few brief conversations I managed with Gypsy women in Richmond and Berkeley indicated that they were geographically mobile, and sometimes lonely. One or two seemed defensive about possible discrimination and treatment as inferiors. It was likely that Gypsy youngsters sometimes attached themselves to Intertribal Friendship House activities for children because people at the House permitted this without questions or interference. In each case, Gypsy children were allowed an opportunity to enjoy social activities such as Halloween parties without feeling conspicuous. The usual pattern for these children was to appear quietly in groups of two or three, remain more or less by themselves, participate inconspicuously in activities of the party, and then leave as quietly as they had come. Few if any comments were made about their presence, and they were given food and party favours on an equal basis with other children. It is possible that they learned about children's parties or other events by simply reading the bulletin board in the front hall of the Intertribal Friendship House. Since North American Gypsies tend to maintain an enclosed life-style, and seldom socialize with or marry outsiders, their occasional association with Indian people in the Bay Area may have been unusual from both their own standpoint, and from that of urban Indians.

Further examples of diversified contacts among Indians and non-Indians in the Bay Area in the late 1960's included one Pueblo woman who was very active in women's affairs at the Intertribal Friendship House, and whose second husband was a Filipino; an Oklahoma Indian woman who was also married to a Filipino; a Navajo-California Indian woman whose first husband was an Oklahoma Indian and whose second husband was a Chicano; and Oklahoma Indian girl who dated a Samoan for a while, and who during that time attended Samoan Luaus held in the Bay Area on weekends; a young Seminole woman who was very active in Intertribal Friendship House activities, who participated in most of the larger Bay Area Pow Wows, and who was married to an Italian; a Central Basin woman who met and married an Alaskan Eskimo while taking Nurse's training in Los Angeles; and several Indian girls who dated or married whites. There was also the Choctaw-Afro-American in the school sample, who reported that her mother's mother was a full-blooded Choctaw, while her mother's father was one-half Choctaw and one-half Black. The student's father was Black, and all of her mother's siblings had married Blacks. Her parents had met in Texas, and were the only members of their extended families living in the Bay Area at the time of this study.

With respect to Indian men in the Bay Area who were married to non-Indians, one Pueblo male was married to a Mexican-American with some Yaqui admixture, whom he had met in Albuquerque, New Mexico; one Pueblo Indian male was married to a white woman whose first husband had been white; and one Central Basin male was married to a white woman whom he had met in Arizona. The number of Indian men dating or married to non-Indians appeared to be smaller than the number of Indian women in this category.

Ablon observed a tendency for mixed-bloods living in the Bay Area in the early 1960's to marry other mixed bloods rather than whites, and that in many families there was a history of several generations of mixed-blood marriages (1963:37). This was still the case by 1969. The Director of the BIA Relocation Office in San Jose stated that her observations of urban Indian marriages indicated that Indians who came to San Jose tended to marry others of Indian descent (August 1965). In addition, several Indian women who were living in Oakland and Richmond between 1965 and 1969 commented that they hoped their children would marry others from the same tribe, but failing this, that their children would at least marry other Indians. One Indian woman who had married another person from the same tribe "and the right clan--we were really lucky to find one another!" commented that she and her parents had hoped that her sister would marry another person from the same tribe. However, the sister had married someone from another tribe. The woman sighed:

> At least my sister married an Indian. My husband and I are from the same tribe, and that's the way it should be, because it's best to marry someone from your own tribe. But sometimes finding husbands from your own tribe is hard these days. Even then, you should at least marry another Indian if you can't find somebody from your own tribe (Summer 1969).

One of the Navajos in the school sample stated:

> Last year Mom had a pep talk with me. She said, "Now that you are old enough to find a husband, I would prefer that you marry someone of our own tribe." Mom says that it's best to marry another person from our own tribe, because marriage is hard enough as it is, and when you both have the same background, then it's much easier. I will marry a Navajo if I can find one, but it's hard to find them out here. It seems that all the good guys are back on the Reservation. When they come here (for job training), a lot of them start drinking. It's hard to meet good Navajo guys out here. But my Mom is right, and I will try to find a Navajo if I can (April 7, 1969).

The teen-aged brother of another Navajo student in the school sample confided that he was extremely worried about finding a Navajo girl friend:

> I would like to have a Navajo girl friend, but I'm short, and some of the girls are taller than I am. There is one I've got my eye on. You probably know her, she's that real pretty girl. Man, I'm scared to ask her out. She's from a good family, and I really prefer Navajos. Maybe by next week I'll work up enough nerve to ask her out when I see her at the Pow Wow (Spring 1967).

Once or twice there were passing comments about young Indian women in the Bay Area who had married whites: "They think they're too good for us Indian men" (Fall 1967).

Many Indians in the Bay Area had values which sometimes made it difficult to find compromises between their own priorities and those of non-Indians (cf. Wax and Thomas 1961). This occasionally affected interaction with non-Indians in situations where non-Indians were dominant.

As one example of the urban persistence of the common Indian value of cooperation instead of competition and individualistic achievement, including the effect of this value on interaction with urban whites, consider the following case. By the late 1960's, a highly capable Pueblo man with leadership ability had worked as a welder for an East Bay firm for several years. His work and ability to command the respect of others were so outstanding that the company offered him a position as foreman. His extended family could have used the extra income, and he was flattered by the offer, but he turned it down. "A foreman makes a lot of enemies," he said, meaning that the position involved open competition which would have conflicted too much with his own Pueblo background and values.

Over half of the available elementary school records for all students in the 1968-1969 school sample remarked that in elementary school, the students were well-behaved though shy in comparison to others. For example, the Kindergarten teacher of one very well-adjusted high school student with good marks (who later attended university) had written: "X is always courteous to all, and cooperates very well with fellow pupils. Self-control is very good. Quiet, but socially well-adjusted. A wonderful child to work with. Never disturbs anyone, and always follows directions well. Academic growth is very good. However, this child does not participate frequently in oral language" (e.g. the student would not compete openly or publically with others). Ten years later in high school, after continuous enrolment in Bay Area schools and intensive exposure to urban institutions and their alternate values, this student's general behaviour in school, including "shyness", excellent academic achievement, and excellent adjustment to school had not changed.

Discrimination

Information on overt discrimination against Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960's tended to be sparse. Because the Bay Area was a large, diversified, and multicultural metropolitan site, Indians tended to melt into the total ethnic mosaic, and were often mistaken for Mexican Americans, Polynesians, or other minorities. Few people outside of agencies or institutions in direct contact with urban Indians were aware of their existence in the city. As a result, most non-Indians had little opportunity to be threatened by urban Indians as a group. When asked about discrimination, one California Indian woman commented, "Oh yes, we had some of that back home, but you very seldom see that here" (August 1965). This was the response given by most people when asked about discrimination. Many said that they were relieved by the lack of discrimination in the Bay Area when compared to home reservation areas. Those involved in the Red Power or Indian Civil Rights movement tended to be more critical about discrimination, and often expressed views which appeared to be influenced by contact with Black civil rights workers of the late 1960's.

A student in one of the high schools where I worked discussed the lack of serious discrimination against Indians in East Bay schools at the time:

> The kids get along. It's not hard. When I went to elementary school, I was the only Indian. It wasn't hard for me, because I was born here and I've been here all along. I guess

> if I'd come from back home it would have been different. Our (East Bay) church is like that. I don't like to go there because it's all white. The people are kind of funny, snobs I guess, and they "bug" me.
>
> At school it's different. The kids at my high school really do get along. Even with all the racial trouble, we still get along with each other (1968).

Several Indian high school students commented that during riots in their East Bay high schools between 1965 and 1969 (see the section titled "The East Bay Public Schools in 1968-1969" in Chapter Four), major tensions seemed to occur between Blacks and whites, and that Blacks did not harass or threaten to attack Indians. One Indian girl stated that she avoided being attacked on the way home from her Oakland high school during "incidents" by walking with Black friends, and that she "stayed away" from white students until things returned to normal (Spring 1967).

Despite the relative anonymity and freedom from overt prejudice enjoyed by most Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's, there were occasional indications of discrimination and patronizing treatment. During all-Indian rock and roll dances in both Oakland and San Francisco, teenagers from other minority groups sometimes harassed Indian adolescents. One high school student who was included in the pilot survey described this harassment:

> There were a bunch of Mexicans at the dance Saturday, and they made fun of the "cornball" Indians, the "furdy" (awkward) Indian kids. They shouldn't come if they're going to do that, because the dances are for Indians (Fall 1966).

This problem was largely eliminated when committees organizing all-Indian rock and roll dances decided to issue exclusive identification cards for Indians and Eskimos only. By 1966, one had to be an Indian or an Eskimo, or a guest of an Indian or an Eskimo in order to obtain an identification card and be admitted to the dances. Signs at the entrances to dances proclaimed "Indians and Eskimos Only".

One Plains Indian girl described an incident regarding housing discrimination in the East Bay:

> When my sister and Mom went to look for an apartment, they called on the phone, and the man said it was $185.00. Then when they went over there, the man saw them, and he said it was $200.00. My sister got kind of mad. But who wants to live in a place where you'll be uncomfortable (where there is discrimination)? (Fall 1966).

Sometimes people whom Native Americans called "Do-gooders" participated in activities at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. A "Do-gooder" was a non-Indian volunteer who "helped" Indians out of apparent convictions that Indians needed help because they were inferior. This attitude was almost always identifiable, and was characterized by the initiative to "help" Indians, or to tell them how to proceed even where such help or advice was not appreciated. For example, on one occasion a non-Indian guest at an Intertribal Friendship House dinner expounded loudly on "How much Indians needed to progress" in front of several Indian adults, as if they were invisible, or children, or both.

At one point I was travelling with a family on the way home from their reservation in another state, when we stopped at about 2:00 a.m. for coffee in a small town outside of the Bay Area. Since everyone else was asleep, I accompanied the driver into an all-night restaurant. The restaurant personnel refused to acknowledge our presence, but quickly waited on some whites who appeared a few minutes later. The driver, who was wearing long hair and a headband, turned and stalked out. Shortly afterwards we stopped at another restaurant, where we experienced no such problem.

I asked the driver if perhaps the restaurant employees thought we were "hippies", or people who were even lower on the California social scale than Blacks (hippies often wore long hair and headbands). The driver said he was quite sure that the restaurant employees knew he was an Indian, and added that this kind of discrimination is common in parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and California. The infrequency of this type of overt insult in the city may have been due to the relative "invisibility" of most Indians, including the fact that many were seldom identified as Indians outside of their personal networks.

The sheer novelty of urban Indians sometimes amazed people who encountered them for the first time, especially when this contact occurred by accident. At one Pow Wow and buffalo meat barbecue in a San Leandro Park in the fall of 1965, a suburban housewife with three small children was attracted by the sound of singing, drumming, and bells. The Pow Wow was large, with at least 150 dancers in full dress, two groups of singers and drummers, and several hundred spectators. The woman cautiously approached the Pow Wow area with her children. When she was close enough to see the dancers she stopped, gasped, and stood quietly for several minutes. "My God!" she exclaimed, "Those are Indians! Are they dangerous?"

Relationships with other people in the ethnically diversified neighbourhoods where Indians often lived, and in the industries where they worked were generally good. However, there was evidence of a hierarchy of discrimination in which some Indians themselves participated. This hierarchy reflected the usual ranking of American minorities, with Blacks at the bottom and Indians somewhere in the middle of the social scale. It appeared that a few Indians were anxious to maintain an urban ranking which placed Indians in a position of superiority over other minorities, and which paralleled the "majority" viewpoint with respect to the status of American minorities. Although this varied with individuals, some urban Indians did not wish to be identified with others who might have had less prestige, or who might have challenged the status of Indians within the social hierarchy of all ethnic groups in the area.

An insightful comment about this phenomenon came from a young Oklahoma Indian girl:

> A lot of Indians in the Bay Area are prejudiced against coloured people, and they don't like Mexicans either. I think this is because they just need somebody to discriminate against, so they can know who they are themselves (Winter 1967).

Leadership

An important trend which became clear towards the end of the 1960's was that Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area had begun to produce a national Indian political leadership. The general pattern for emerging Indian political leaders was to first attain leadership in one of the local urban Indian centers, organizations, or activities, and to then move from the Bay Area into leadership positions in the statewide Intertribal Council of California headquartered in Sacramento. From the Intertribal Council of California, a few individuals proceeded either into national Indian politics, federal appointment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or membership on federal commissions. This pattern was also true for the Los Angeles area, as well as for most large cities with substantial numbers of Indians, including cities in Canada (personal observations). For example, in the late 1960's a California Indian man trained as a minister became Director of the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. He then moved from that position into the Chairmanship of the Intertribal Council of California, and was later appointed Chair of a federal commission on urban Indian centers headquartered in New York City under the Association on American Indian

Affairs. Another California Indian man who assumed leadership in Indian community affairs in Oakland in the late 1960's later became Director of the Oakland American Indian Association, and was eventually elected Chairman of the Intertribal Council of California.

The Influence of Civil Rights

Towards the end of the 1968 there was a "revolt" at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. This event was headed by the Director of the Intertribal Friendship House and a group of young associates who had been influenced by participation in the Poor People's Civil Rights Campaign in Washington, D.C. As a result of this "revolt", all non-Indians were barred from sitting on the Intertribal Friendship House Board of Directors, the rummage room was cleared out, and anything which was out of style or second-rate was thrown away. Charitable persons and organizations were informed that if they genuinely wished to help Indians, they could either donate funds to the Intertribal Friendship House, or purchase new clothing for Indian children.

These events and their aftermath caused hurt feelings on the part of some non-Indian volunteers who had worked for the Intertribal Friendship House for years, but were regarded by many Indians as a necessary step towards eradicating dependency relationships with whites. When one white person who had been a volunteer worker and fund-raiser for the Intertribal Friendship House for several years protested that the removal of skilled non-Indian fund-raisers might cause financial problems "because Indians might not yet know how to raise enough money for the House", one young Native American snapped, "You shouldn't judge our ability on the basis of your ability!" (Fall 1969).

As was the case with other formal Indian groups, Civil Rights groups demonstrated the diversity of backgrounds and interests which existed within the total Indian population in the Bay Area by 1969. There was a tendency for those interested in Civil Rights to be younger in age than leaders of other Indian community events, to have travelled, to have attended or graduated from university, and to have been in contact with other Indian people who were active in Civil Rights efforts throughout the United States and Canada (personal observations).

Multiculturalism and Indian Identity

During her study of the Bay Area between 1961 and 1963, Ablon was impressed by the stamp of Indian identity on almost every migrant she encountered. Furthermore, this strong Indian identity did not seem to be destroyed by intermarriage, occupation, or changes in life style (1964:302).

Significantly, much of the "new" Indian political activism of the 1960's seemed to be related to the migration of Indians to the Bay Area and other large cities, including contacts with urban resources and the resulting sophistication which many Indians were gaining in cities. Urban migration seemed to be accelerating the number of participants in all Pan-Indian activities, including those with specific political goals. Some Indians in the Bay Area stated that through contrast with conditions in their home communities, which they had previously taken for granted, city life had caused them to reassess and reemphasize who they were. Often this process of reassessment led to a renewed interest in Indian arts, history, and politics which had not been as strong when they lived on their home reservations.

It seemed that rather than causing the direct "assimilation" of Indians, migration to the Bay Area and other cities had catalyzed the growth of Pan-Indianism, including the development of an increasing number of urban Indian organizations and services, an expanding series of political activities, and a strengthened sense of Indian identity. Instead of losing their identity and "assimilating", many Indians in the Bay Area in the late 1960's seemed to be developing an even stronger sense of identity. In many cases this identity seemed to consist of at least three integrated components: a) Tribal identity, including relationships with families and home reservations; b) Pan-Indian identity, or identification with Indians as a national ethnic group; and c) "American" identity, or identification with efforts to participate in the mainstream of American life on Indian terms, and without loss of basic Indian values and personal self-esteem. For statements on compartmentalization and biculturation which are relevant to this observation, see Spicer (1954, 1961), Polgar (1960), Dozier (1961), and McFee (1968).

As was the case for many other ethnic groups in cities, Indian residents of the Bay Area seemed to be ignoring melting pot theories (see Glazer and Moynihan 1964). On the whole they were a diversified group, and many had become multicultural individuals. Multicultural Indians seemed to be able to cope with both Indian and white culture at the same time, as well as with the normal pressures of urban life without losing sight of who they were, or where they were going. Many people seemed to use pride in their fundamental Indian identity as a basis for the self-esteem necessary for coping with urban life, and as a secure stepping stone from which to operate in all social contexts.

CHAPTER III

DOMESTIC UNITS, KINSHIP, AND ADJUSTMENT

A Stable Urban Indian Enclave: Santa Fe Indian Village

Some background information on Santa Fe Indian Village was given in Chapter One (see the section titled "An Industry-Sponsored Relocation Program"). Because it was the only residential enclave of Indians in the Bay Area in the late 1960's, Santa Fe Village illustrated certain aspects of kinship behaviour and other adaptations to city life which were not as obvious within the larger, more dispersed urban Indian population. However, once these adaptations were pinpointed as a result of observations in the Village, it became clear that equivalent adaptations existed within the larger Bay Area population, and generalizations about urban Indian behaviour could be attempted as a result of major patterns discovered within Santa Fe Village. The fact that the Village was composed of members of Pueblo culture was not as significant as the broad features of urban adaptation and adjustment observable within its boundaries. Descriptions of Village life, domestic units, and kinship behaviour presented here are intended as illustrations of important patterns of urban behaviour which existed within the larger urban Indian population, and not simply as illustrations of one Indian culture among the many which were present in the Bay Area at that time. In addition, it should be noted that future surveys of Bay Area Indians would be well-advised to gather diversified information about the urban Indian population as a whole, and allow people in the Village (if the Village still exists) much-needed privacy.

At the height of its population during World War II, Santa Fe Village was divided into two sections, or Acoma and Laguna. Houses in the Acoma section were painted red, and in the Laguna section, yellow. By the mid or late 1960's, the red or Acoma section had been dismantled, and only about fifteen yellow houses remained. Some of these were occupied by Acoma families, and others by Lagunas. At last count a few of the remaining yellow houses were empty, and were used primarily for guests, meetings, feasts, and tamale-making work parties (personal observation 1975).

During its peak population, the Acoma and Laguna sections of Santa Fe Village functioned much like small models of their home Pueblos. Governors and other village officials were elected each December 30 by secret ballot, and election results were sent immediately to the home Pueblos. Weekly village meetings were held in order to read letters, newspaper articles, and bulletins from "home" (Ablon 1963). The traditional Keresan calendar was recreated in miniature form, an annual Governor's Feast was held in late January or early February, and people celebrated "Grab Day" on their Saint's Day by throwing fruit, boxes of cereal, other small food items, and sometimes small gifts from rooftops to spectators below. After World War II when the village population fell, some of these activities declined, but the authority of the home Pueblos over village residents remained strong.

Village houses were constructed from railroad box cars set on foundations in the shape of an "H", including two parallel cars joined by a perpendicular center section. Most of these units were divided into duplexes, although large families sometimes occupied an entire unit. Inside of each half of a duplex was a large kitchen (usually equipped with a wood-burning stove), two small bedrooms, a living room, and a bath. The style of these homes appeared to be a mixture of modern and traditional Pueblo formats. Some homes displayed altars and other ceremonial objects, katchinas, and Pueblo pottery. Most families had a television, and one or more pets.

Children and young people from the village attended local Richmond schools. Most residents were Catholics, and many attended a local Catholic church, especially during holiday masses. In reality, most residents practiced a mixture of nominal Catholicism and traditional Pueblo religion. Both English and Keresan were spoken in Village homes, and traditional kinship behaviour, including clan affiliations remained strong. Most, if not all families were matrilineal. and the behaviour of men, women, and children followed this traditional Keresan pattern.

In the late 1960's, people in Santa Fe Village were married to others from the same Pueblos, but there was one family where a white woman was married to a Village resident and the couple was rearing one of the husband's brother's children. In another case, a Village woman married a man from an Oklahoma tribe, and the couple moved in with the bride's parents for a year or so after the wedding before moving to their own home nearby.

People in the Village constantly babysat for relatives, and some took in outside babysitting for pay. Money and gifts were sent from the Village to relatives living in the home Pueblos and elsewhere on a regular basis. At least one man in the village had helped several of his brothers' and sisters' children through colleges or universities in the Southwest.

In the late 1960's most Village residents participated very little in the outside community. Instead, they tended to be primarily oriented towards kin located in the Village and elsewhere along the Santa Fe line, in their home Pueblos, and in other cities. Villagers saw their Pueblos and not Richmond as their "real homes", and most adults said they hoped to retire "back home". In this respect they were comparable to other Indian residents of the Bay Area (see the section in Chapter Two titled "Urban and Reservation Kin").

Village wives and children usually returned to their Pueblos for visits at every possible opportunity, while men returned home whenever they had leave from their work or official holidays. Vacation time for Santa Fe employees accumulated with seniority, and an older man could have as much as a full month or more official holiday each year. In that case, the entire family usually returned to the home Pueblo for the duration of the holiday.

Village children and young people were often sent back to home Pueblos during the summer in order to stay with grandparents or other relatives and work on the farms, fulfill ceremonial obligations, or otherwise help out for three months. There was also a great deal of visiting from the home Pueblos to Richmond, as well as back and forth between Richmond and other line villages. For example, if Richmond Village residents had relatives in Barstow, California, or Winslow, Arizona, there was constant visiting between kin located in these other line villages and Richmond. As a result, a great deal of continuity was preserved between the home Pueblos and villages along the Santa Fe line. This orientation towards a perceived reservation-urban continuum was also true of a very high proportion of Bay Area Indians in general, including the majority of students in the 1968-1969 school sample (see Appendix X, and the section in Chapter Two titled "Urban and Reservation Kin").

Children and young people from Santa Fe Village who were enrolled in local public schools were not usually active in extra-curricular activities at these schools. A few people attended larger social events at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, or at the San Francisco Indian Center. Some teenagers attended all-Indian rock and roll dances in Oakland and San Francisco, and some occasionally participated in Youth Activities at the Intertribal Friendship House. A few Village women occasionally attended Ladies' Day at the

Oakland Intertribal Friendship House. Some families attended Bay Area Pow Wows held on weekends and during the Memorial and Labour Day holidays, as well as other large Pan-Indian Pow Wows held elsewhere in California during the summer. One Village family had organized a Pow Wow singing and drumming group, danced specialty dances at Pow Wows, and danced for non-Indian events such as lodge meetings, store openings, and school assemblies. During the Alcatraz Island activities of 1969 and 1970, a few people from Richmond Santa Fe Indian Village supported the sit-ins. In general, rates of participation by Village families in Pan-Indian activities were similar to the majority of Bay Area Indians (see the section titled "Pan Indianism" in Chapter Two).

Food preferences and domestic solidarity. As part of the regular family diet, Santa Fe Village women baked bread and roasted corn in traditional outdoor beehive ovens. Other Pueblo foods such as tamales, chilies, chili sauce, beans, and stew were eaten daily and at village feasts and ceremonies. People also ate a variety of other foods, as for example the uncle of one student in the 1968-1969 school sample who ordered Chinese food to be delivered to his home on pay days. But in general, traditional Pueblo foods were preferred.

Food preferences within the Village were an important indication of strong ties with home reservations and efforts to maintain traditional cultural norms in the city. Specialized food habits were more easily transported and maintained during migration and social change than some other aspects of Pueblo cultures, and they provided important identity and social solidarity functions for domestic units in the city. Significantly, people in Santa Fe Village who attempted to teach me about their culture began this process with a demonstration of food technology. Such demonstrations represented much more than normal discussions of food among women. For these people, specialized food preferences and the exchange and distribution of cultural foods were vital indexes of cultural continuity and family solidarity in the city, despite geographic separation from the Pueblos. In addition, the contribution of specialized food brought or sent by kin in home Pueblos gave home area kin an important sense of helping to maintain the welfare of family members in the city, as well as a chance to reciprocate for remittances from urban kin. Unlike some other urban minorities (cf. Stack 1974), the exchange and distribution of food was not an economic necessity, since city employment guaranteed that most

Village families would be adequately fed, clothed, and housed, and that remittances of money and gifts to home reservations would not cause deprivation.

For comparison, elsewhere in the Bay Area traditional reservation foods were likewise an important part of the identity and family organization of a large number of Indian residents. For example, seventeen of the students in the 1968-1969 school sample, or 70.8 per cent said that they preferred and consumed a diet of traditional reservation food mixed with some "American" food, while one Navajo student said that her urban family ate little else besides traditional reservation foods. Two students reported that Mexican food constituted a large part of their family diets. One of these was a Santa Fe Village resident who stated that her family ate a combination of Pueblo food and Mexican food, and little else, while the other was the Arapaho-Hispano student whose mother was an Hispano. One student, the Choctaw-Afro-American, said that "Soul food" (Southern American food) was an important part of her family's daily diet. In general, students in the school sample and other Indian residents of the Bay Area corroborated the Santa Fe Village preference for a diet consisting of a large proportion of traditional reservation foods. In many cases, people were automatically sent specialized reservation foodstuffs (such as choke-cherries from the Plains, or Pueblo corn) on a regular basis. Smaller items were sometimes sent by mail. Otherwise, relatives from home reservations often brought a load of larger foodstuffs each time they came to the city. In one case, relatives of a family living in Santa Fe Village always arrived for visits with at least a full carload of specialized varieties of Pueblo corn, beans, squash, and peppers, as well as cornmeal for tamales.

Traditional controls and urban adjustment. Social control within Richmond Santa Fe Indian Village was largely traditional, and depended heavily on sanctions enforced by domestic and extended kin. Many people were sensitive about negative gossip, and most tried to maintain positive relationships with others where at all possible. Since Village men and women employed by the Santa Fe Railway had always been discharged at the first sign of misconduct, and traditional Pueblo controls had further operated to encourage good conduct on the job, Village people had a reputation with the Santa Fe Company for being reliable and steady workers (Ablon 1963:64). From this perspective, traditional domestic and extended family controls on behaviour were adaptive, and facilitated many aspects of urban adjustment. This feature of Santa Fe Village organization was, like other aspects of Village life, comparable to the behaviour of many Indian residents of the Bay Area.

In the late 1960's the "Chief's Talk", or plenary gathering during home visits for purposes of family unity was also in operation among people living in Santa Fe Village. Just before leaving at the end of a large family gathering, members of an extended family would meet with the most senior male, often a respected religious official. Men, women, and children sat together on the floor at the feet of the senior male, who remained standing. After apologies to anyone who did not speak the Pueblo language being used, the senior male began a lengthy discussion of the behaviour of each person in the family, usually in order of age. The behaviour of each individual was first described in turn, and following this, the senior male directly addressed people with advice, praise, and occasionally, open criticism. There was no counterargument. Members of the family who were being praised remained modest, while those who were being criticized looked at the floor or otherwise registered shame. Most of the content of these talks centred around family obligations, proper parenting, housekeeping, and earning a good living. In the case of children, advice tended to focus upon the need to learn proper Pueblo values and norms.

Depending on the number of people in the family to be discussed, a Chief's Talk could last as long as two hours. At its conclusion, people quietly arose and thanked the senior male for his advice. Once again there was no counterargument. Family members who had been shamed were treated neutrally following the talk, probably on the assumption that no further discipline was needed at that point.

The corporate distribution of income. Men in Santa Fe Village usually worked in the railroad yard as carmen, locomotive mechanics, or in other technical capacities servicing trains. Village women who were employed outside of their homes tended to work for the Santa Fe Railway as secretaries and office clerks. In the late 1960's, it was not as common for married women in the Village to work outside of their homes as was the case for other Indian women in the Bay Area (see the section titled "Families and Incomes" in Chapter Two). By contrast, most unmarried women worked after graduation from high school for the Santa Fe Railway or elsewhere nearby until they married.

Workers' incomes tended to be the corporate property of their families, and like other things were shared with extended kin. In this respect, Village people were once again similar to a large proportion of Bay Area Indians. One of the best descriptions of corporate income distribution within urban Indian families in general came from a Village girl in the school sample whose father had died, but whose older sisters were all employed:

> Our money is distributed among all of us. My mother doesn't have much. If the car needs new tires, we divide the expense among the sisters. One of my sisters pays the phone, the whole bill including long distance. Another sister pays for gas, electricity, and water. Another one buys all the groceries. My sister who just got married used to give my mother $50.00 every pay day. Now she gives my mother a little bit less because she has her own apartment.

One Pueblo family related by kinship ties to people in Santa Fe Village, but living outside of the Village because the family head worked for another company, had an income of about eleven to twelve thousand dollars a year in 1969, and distributed at least a third of this income among extended kin. For example, this family bought school clothing for nieces and nephews living elsewhere along the Santa Fe line, often bought a month's supply of groceries for one set of parents, and almost always supported at least one other relative living in their urban home. The family's own standard of living was good, yet modest compared to most middle-class families with equivalent incomes. However, according to Pueblo values, it would have been unthinkable for these people and others in Santa Fe Village to hoard their incomes instead of sharing resources freely with kin. In return for sharing incomes, people in the Village received considerable respect from extended kin, from others in the Village, and from Bay Area Indians in general. Respect from others outside of both the Village and personal kinship networks meant that this behaviour was a widespread urban Indian phenomenon. In addition, patterns of income sharing among extended Village kin meant that a good deal of money was returned to the home Pueblos by families living in the city (compare this with observations of other Indians in the Bay Area, as well as material on African rural-urban migration cited under "Urban and Reservation Kin" in Chapter Two).

The transmission of traditional culture in the city. People in Santa Fe Village and their kin in home Pueblos were concerned about transmitting Pueblo culture to children in the city, and often made impressive efforts to juggle adjustments made as a result of urban migration with the need to maintain their own priorities and life-style. To illustrate techniques for the management of child-rearing, where traditional Pueblo families hoped to produce adjusted, but culturally-loyal offspring, consider the following examples:

In 1967 a Village couple with a small child invited a white couple with a small child of about the same age to visit their home reservation for a week. The two couples travelled in the same car, and soon proceeded to argue gently over child-rearing practices. Furthermore, family elders on the reservation frowned upon the white couple's child-rearing practices, and attempted to teach both the couple and their child proper Pueblo-style behaviour. It should be noted that the white couple were average, middle-class people who were not behaving in any way considered unusual by many non-Indians. Difficulties apparently centered around the Pueblo parents' fears that their own meticulously-disciplined son might continued to imitate the white child as he had done during the drive to the reservation. When the Pueblo son later imitated the white child in front of family elders, the Pueblo parents were publically sanctioned by elders for the son's behaviour, and felt a great deal of strain as a result.

It seemed that the Pueblo parents and their elders felt that a young child is "always old enough to know better", and should be carefully instructed regarding proper manners, respect, responsibility, sharing, non-aggression, non-interruption, non-interference, and learning through observation. On the other hand, the white parents felt that young children under a certain age are "too little to know better", and should be permitted too much freedom by traditional Pueblo standards. Difficulties began when the white child's "freedom" was imitated by the Pueblo child, and became much worse when family elders sanctioned both the Pueblo child and his parents for the Pueblo child's behaviour. Group pressure on the Pueblo child and his parents, as well as on the white child and his parents, soon modified any "negative" influence of the white child on the Pueblo child. In this way, control exerted by kin at home reinforced the maintenance of traditional values and priorities among migrants to the city.

In the early spring of 1968, a conservative Pueblo family with relatives in Santa Fe Village decided to enrol their four-year old son in a nursery school. Most of this child's life had been spent in the Bay Area. He was bright, but seemed bored at home in the city without enough to do to keep him occupied. Sometimes he didn't "mind" properly, and this worried his parents. Perhaps if the son attended a proper nursery school, he would learn discipline and could be kept busy enough to avoid boredom. If the family had been at home in the Pueblo, the child could have worked on the farm, but this was not possible in the city. Thus, after lengthy conferences with the extended kin group, including grandparents, it was decided that the child should be enrolled in a good, discipline-oriented nursery school.

At that time, many private nursery schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area were anxious to have minority children, and even offered scholarships to aid in attracting them. The Pueblo parents interviewed at several elite nursery schools before finally settling on a choice. All schools they contacted were anxious to have their son, but the parents themselves were extremely cautious about selecting a school which could meet their own requirements. Despite the decision to enrol their son in school, they were not willing to place him in a learning situation which would conflict with their own values and child-rearing practices.

In the late spring of 1968, the family, including the mother, father, child and mother's sister, visited a "permissive", elaborately-equipped nursery school in the East Bay in order to observe its facilities. Immediately upon arriving, the small son registered ecstatic delight over the school surroundings, and rushed off to play with other children. Outside in the playground were swings, sand-boxes, slides, climbing bars, a rabbit hutch with rabbits, and tricycles. Inside of the school building were dozens of educational toys, two playhouses with child-size equipment, two pianos and other musical instruments, facilities for painting and crafts, plants, a kitchen for snacks, child-size lavatories, live rats, guinea pigs, gerbils, and fish. On that particular day there was also a science exhibit consisting of a live abalone under a magnifying glass for the children to observe.

The parents and aunt were warmly greeted by the nursery school Director, introduced to the staff, and made to feel welcome. Meanwhile the son dashed around, observing and examining the facilities with considerable excitement. He played on the playground equipment outside, rode a tricycle, handled the animals, observed the live abalone, and investigated several games. No other children seemed to notice that he was any different from themselves, and he was too busy examining the many novelties of the school to stop long enough to catch his breath.

The parents and aunt walked slowly around, observing the facilities and activities of other children and instructors. After a short while they sat down at a table and continued their silent observations. Finally, the father said: "This is no different from what Sonny does at home. He plays with other little kids, and we could get him toys like the ones they have here. If we send him to Kindergarten next year, he would be doing all the things he does here. But, if he comes here he might be tired of all that by then, and then he wouldn't cooperate either at home, or in Kindergarten." The mother said: "He would probably only want to come here for a week. Then he'd be tired of it, and he wouldn't want to come anymore." (In other words, at the end of approximately one week the son would be behaving too much like the white children at the school, and in order to withdraw him tactfully, his parents would tell school officials that he no longer wished attend to school.)

"That little boy (a white child) is spoiled," said the aunt, watching the children play. "I know it," said the mother. "A lot of them are spoiled. And look at the women who work here. They don't wear pants, they wear skirts which are too short."

"That little boy over there hasn't learned how to share yet," said the aunt. "Sonny asked him to share the swing, and he wouldn't share it. I don't like it here, and that's my opinion."

"When we went to X Nursery School and Sonny danced for them, they wanted him and they offered him a scholarship," said the mother. "They had all the children come in and sit down, and they were learning their ABC's. Then they played outside, learned singing, and painted. This school is not organized (in other words, was not tightly structured, and the children were not disciplined by Pueblo standards). Sonny already knows his ABC's, and he can count up to ten because we get him books and we teach him. These people are nice and they are friendly but they don't know how to run a school. If we can't get Sonny into Kindergarten this year because of his age, then maybe he should go to X Nursery School. Besides, his grandfather (MoFa) has a nursery school in his back yard (the child could play while being supervised in the grandfather's back yard), and his grandfather can teach him the right way to play, music, and other things" (traditional Pueblo values, behaviour, language, music, religion, and myths).

At that point the family arose and approached the Director. They thanked her, but said that they had reconsidered. The Director stated that their son was welcome back any time, and that the entire family was also welcome at any time.

As the family began to leave, the son was still darting about, discovering new things at the school. He would not come when called, and had to be led away by the hand, protesting loudly. "He doesn't want to go," observed one of the staff. "His father has to go to work," said the mother, and that was that.

If this Pueblo child had attended the "permissive" nursery school, he would have learned interpersonal aggression, competitive behaviour, and other values which most Pueblo Indians dislike. Worst of all, he might have "unlearned" carefully drilled Pueblo values such as sharing and cooperation. Despite their city environment, this child's parents were making every effort to rear their son as a proper Pueblo male. The son was therefore strictly disciplined, but personally secure and happy. His parents wanted him to attend school and to do well, but they were not willing to place him in a nursery school which might have interfered with their own values and world view. Both the parents and their extended kin had meticulously supervised the son's early development, and this investment would be carefully guarded. Material assets, elaborate equipment, and friendliness of the staff at any given nursery school meant little to them. Instead, they were far more interested in the behaviour of other children attending the school, as well as the possible effects of such behaviour on the development of their son.

Late the following season, the son was enrolled in a private, Church-affiliated nursery school. His father attended school with him each morning, and occasionally another relative who was visiting the family also went along for observation. This school was a cooperative day nursery, meaning that parents worked part-time in the school. Since the child's father worked at night, he could attend the school on his assigned mornings, help with reading and other activities, and continue to supervise and control the development of his son in the school setting.

Of their initial interview at the school, the mother said: "We didn't know this was a private school. It goes up to the second grade, and if it's O.K. with them, we will send our son there through the second grade. Those people are wealthy, so we were scared, but they are very nice. This is an organized school where the children learn reading and arithmetic. And his father can go with Sonny and watch him. Someday we will leave Sonny there at school by himself, so he can get used to being on his own. At first his father will pretend to leave Sonny there alone, and he'll tell him he'll be back to pick him up when school is out. But he won't really leave, he'll stay there and wait. Then, after Sonny gets used to the idea of being left along at school, we will actually leave him there by himself for the day. But my husband and I can still go to the school on our days to work there, and that's good. My husband really knows how to handle kids, so the teachers are glad to have him at the school, along with our son."

Kinship and Urban Adjustment

For families in Santa Fe Indian Village, families of other students in the 1968-1969 school sample, and the majority of Bay Area Indian families observed between 1965 and 1969, kinship ties were of primary importance in determining urban adjustment and also provided much of the nexus for social life. In fact, data gathered throughout this study indicated that Indian families were the major focus of urban life. Strong, emotionally-supportive relationships within urban Indian domestic units and with extended kin on home reservations and elsewhere were the key variables determining adjustment to public schools, and to urban life in general.

Many urban Indian domestic units in the San Francisco Bay Area at the time of this study were flexible, extended family groupings composed of a variable number of visiting or other kin in addition to a central core of kin. Most of these family members were heavily emotionally dependent on one another. Many families had more than one person in the labour force, and most handled income and other resources corporately, including remittances to kin on home reservations (see the sections titled "Urban and Reservation Kin" and "Families and Incomes" in Chapter Two; "The Corporate Distribution of Income" in this chapter; and "Student Relationships with their Families" in Chapter Four).

The solidarity of most Bay Area Indian families, their relationships to reservation kin, and the heavy emotional support provided by normal domestic units indicated that a primary motivation for behaviour in the city and in general was extremely strong kinship affect. An absence of domestic affect often led to personal and emotional disorganization, as was especially clear among unadjusted students in the public schools sample (see the section titled "The Unadjusted Group" in Chapter Four). This strong emphasis on affect represented an investment which ensured both the allegiance of individual kin and the solidarity of groups of kin in the face of migration, geographical separation, and rapid social change (see the further discussion of affect presented below in this section).

Urban Indian children in the Bay Area observed during this study often followed the same lines of distribution throughout extended kinship networks as other resources, and were frequently subject to multiple parenting and to reciprocal rights and obligations spread over a wide range of kin. This movement of Indian children back and forth between domestic units in the city and on home reservations encouraged strong emotional ties between a wide range of kin.

Multiple parenting was most clearly observable within Santa Fe Village, but also occurred within the larger urban Indian population. This phenomenon, also called kinship fostering, has been described elsewhere (see E. Goody 1973; J. Goody 1976; and Stack 1974). Among Indian residents of the Bay Area, multiple-parenting meant the presence of various combinations of more than one adult "mother" and "father", all of whom cared for, supported, and disciplined children. Depending on the exact structure of domestic units, as well as the number of extended kin in the city, this was sometimes accomplished by more than one parent in the same or very closely-spaced households, by the movement of children back and forth between more than one urban home, and by the movement of children back and forth between kin in the city and on reservations. Stack (1974:62-89) has described the movement of children of poor urban Blacks between many households for reasons of economic necessity. However, the movement of urban Indian children in the Bay Area between various households was most often related to the maintenance and strengthening of extended family ties, including the integration of kin spread over wide geographical distances.

In Santa Fe Indian Village, children were highly valued. They often visited between homes, accepting guidance and discipline from many relatives, helping with household chores, and calling the siblings of both parents "mother" and "father". In addition, adults without children in the Village were sometimes "given" children by siblings or others in their extended families. Two students in the 1968-1969 school sample from Santa Fe Indian Village were in this position, one having been given by a woman to her childless sister, and the other having been given by a man to his childless brother. In both cases, the students tended to move back and forth between more than one urban home, to visit kin on the reservation at regular intervals, to be economically supported and disciplined by more than one set of parents (although the greatest share of economic support usually came from the parents to which the students had been given), and to share major kinship rights, obligations, and reciprocities with more than one set of "mothers" and "fathers".

Information on students included in the 1968-1969 school sample indicated that multiple parenting was more important for the stability of extended families than for the stability of nuclear families. Among other things, multiple mothers and fathers provided instant access to parenting by extended kin in case of stress or emergencies within the nuclear family, or in case of dissolution of the nuclear family (cf. E. Goody 1973; J. Goody 1976; and Stack 1974). One Navajo girl in the school sample explained:

> My aunt (MoSi) lived with us for four years while her husband was working in another state. After she died, all of her kids lived with my mother and grandmother (MoMo). My grandmother lived with us most of our lives. My aunt's kids were just like our brothers and sisters. We called them "brother" and "sister", and we called my aunt "mother". We called my grandmother "mother" too.

In another case in the school sample, a student had been reared from infancy by maternal grandparents following the dissolution of her mother's first marriage. Although not technically a case of multiple parenting, a move to live with grandparents following the divorce or death of parents was (and is) a common form of child fostering among urban and reservation Indians. This same form of child fostering has likewise been described among the Gonja of Northern Ghana by Esther Goody (1973), and among poor urban Blacks in the United States (Stack 1974).

All (matrilineal) Navajo and Pueblo students in the 1968-1969 school sample had multiple "mothers", or that is combinations of biological mothers, mother's sisters, and mother's mothers, all of whom functioned as social mothers. This phenomenon was less striking among other students in the sample, although most of the students had, in fact, experienced multiple parenting at one time or another. In all cases of multiple mothering, students tended to move fluidly within the spheres of influence of all female kin classified as "mother", apparently perceiving a kind of urban-reservation continuum of mothers. Clear examples of multiple mothering (and multiple parenting) existed within two families of students in the 1968-1969 school sample who lived in Santa Fe Indian Village. These cases will be described here for purposes of illustration.

In one Santa Fe Village family, a high school student who was included in the 1968-1969 school sample lived alternately in his mother's and mother's sister's adjacent homes. His biological mother stated that she had given him to her sister when he was an infant because the sister had no children of her own. The student called both mothers "mother", and was disciplined, fed, clothed, and generally fussed over by both women (although his mother's sister purchased most of his clothes). In return, the student was obligated to split stove wood, carry garbage, and run errands for both mothers. He was also obligated to babysit for his biological sisters, his sister-in-law, and various other relatives whenever asked to do so, usually about three times a week. He ate dinner in whichever household he preferred, often making this decision on the basis of what was being prepared for dinner.

At one point, the student in question decided to grow his hair "long" according to current styles at his high school. Both of his mothers vetoed this idea, and his hair remained short. At another point he began keeping late hours with friends at a bowling alley on weekends. Both mothers went immediately to the bowling alley and escorted him home, thus ending his late-night bowling career. When his school marks were not as high as both mothers might have wished, the student tended to wait until one mother was home and the other was out, hand his report card to the mother who was home, and escape for a brief period of diplomatic immunity to the home of the mother who was out. Diplomatic immunity ended as soon as both mothers were able to confer with one another, agree on procedures, and take action as a single unit.

This example, where two sisters functioned as an effective team for purposes of disciplining a commonly-parented child, demonstrates how aspects of traditional kinship behaviour which were in operation in Santa Fe Indian Village in the late 1960's facilitated urban adjustment. The student in question was being reared as a traditional Pueblo Indian, and was very well-adjusted to school and other aspects of urban life. In addition to this student's family, there were other examples of traditional, multiple-parent child-rearing and discipline in the Village. In each case, children being handled by this traditional method were adjusted and secure individuals. Thus, although transferred to the city, traditional kinship patterns were reinforcing both the normal functioning of urban domestic units and the adjustment of children to school or other aspects of urban life. When necessary, the mother's brother in the home Pueblo or elsewhere could be contacted by phone in order to reinforce the discipline of children living in Santa Fe Village. Certainly the mother's brother would interview parents and children whenever the family got together, complementing some children on good behaviour, and publically shaming others for unacceptable behaviour.

As a further example of multiple parenting, a Pueblo girl in the school sample had been given to her (childless) father's brother by her father. and was living with her father's brother and his wife in Santa Fe Village. Her father's brother was in turn married to a white woman who had adjusted to the requirements for the role of "mother" in that culture. This woman was accepted by the extended family in the home Pueblo as fulfilling various kinship requirements, functioned largely as a "Pueblo" individual, and made frequent trips to the home reservation in order to fulfill family obligations.

Another example of the urban-reservation continuum of mothering concerned a student in the school sample who was living with his family near his home reservation when his biological mother travelled temporarily to a relocation city in order to help a daughter following childbirth. The student had long had personality conflicts and a competitive relationship with his father. One evening during the mother's absence, the student and his father became involved in an extremely serious argument. The student then left home and moved in with some friends for about two months until a sister of his mother who was living in the Bay Area heard of this. Meanwhile, since the student was no longer attending classes, he had been suspended from high school and might never have graduated. His mother's sister travelled from the Bay Area to the vicinity where the student was hiding, located him, and persuaded him to stay with her in the Bay Area until he finished high school. The student referred to this woman as "mother", and was responsible to her for all normal kinship obligations expected of a son towards a mother in that culture.

Juggling more than one kinship system in the city, and explaining this to non-Indians could be challenging. One Plains Indian student in the school sample related the rigours of interpreting Plains Indian kinship terms for the benefit of non-Indian friends when she was a child. This student had been born in the Bay Area, had lived there, and had attended school there all of her life. However, she and her family had always travelled to the home reservation as often as possible for visits, medicine bundle or other religious ceremonies, and various kinship obligations. In addition, the student and her siblings spent a great deal of time independently of their parents on the home reservation almost every summer. Finally, the maternal grandmother, who was a medicine woman with an extensive practice on the home reservation, spent long periods of time with her daughter's family in the city. Some native language was used at home in the city, while a great deal more was spoken whenever members of the family returned to the reservation. Traditional kinship terms and relationships were often used in the privacy of the family circle, but English kinship terms were used in the presence of others.

As a child, this Plains Indian girl sometimes mentioned Plains kinship terminology or the English equivalents to non-Indian friends. On occasion, childhood discussions of kinship terms led to arguments and fights with non-Indian children who insisted that this girl was not telling the truth.

One Pueblo Indian student in the 1968-1969 school sample saw a potential for wit when explaining Pueblo kinship terms to others. "I always tell everybody I have a four-year old father and a thirty-six year old son. Then, I just love to watch the expression on people's faces as they try to figure that one out!"

Many points about kinship strategies among Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area became clear upon observation of organized urban families whose material standard of living was poor, but whose family life was stable. By 1965-1969 there were many cases of organized, lower-income families whose style of life had presumably been transferred to the city from their home reservations, but who were by no means disorganized, unadjusted to the city, alcoholic, "deprived", or "pathological". Gans (1962) and others have demonstrated that low-income urban families are not necessarily disorganized or unhappy. Wax and Wax (1964) have discussed the absurdities of "Vacuum Ideology", or the theory that Indian homes on a Sioux reservation in South Dakota (and the minds of Indian children) were meager, empty, or lacking in organization simply because many people were poor. Furthermore, the relative poverty or affluence of Indians in the Bay Area was not always a clear indication of adjustment to formal and informal aspects of city life, since individual variations in personality and background contributed greatly to urban behaviour and adaptations.

Significantly, Havighurst's review of studies of suicide rates among American Indians concluded that "In general, Indian suicide rates are (most) closely correlated with disorganized family life, alcoholism, and loss of friends and relatives by death" (1970:9). Likewise, alcoholism and other visible indications of stress among contemporary urban Indians may be strongly correlated with domestic unit difficulties, other problems related to kinship roles, and on occasion, to problems with close friendship roles which can sometimes be substituted for kinship roles (cf. Brody 1971; and Liebow 1967). In addition, it was clear that for the majority of Indians in the Bay Area observed during this study, stable personal identity and healthy self-esteem were largely determined by successful relationships with kin, including organized domestic units in the city which could be depended upon for emotional and strategic support. Moreover, relationships with kin appeared to be the primary variables underlying both adjustment to the city, and ability to handle urban stress.

Most Indian people I observed in the Bay Area in the late 1960's did not enjoy being alone without their kin, and in fact found this painful. Many preferred to carry out daily activities with groups of kin, or with close friends who stood in quasi-kinship relationships to them. For example, people would sometimes call me on the phone, or come by my residence and take me with them when other relatives were temporarily absent or had gone back to the reservation for a visit. The idea of staying by oneself or doing anything by oneself for too long was apparently alien to many people's self-images, as well as to the emotional bonds which helped to organize and control an apparently kinship-based orientation. Consider the following statement by a young mother from the Southwest:

> When we get our car paid off we're going to buy a second car; I guess a station wagon. You know Indians! Even though there are four of us, we can't go anywhere by ourselves. You have to count all your relatives in, too. We always do everything with a big bunch of people--otherwise it's no fun (October 1967).

This same woman almost always went shopping with her husband or other relatives. One day her husband dropped her off to shop for an hour or two while he attended a practice session for Pow Wow singing. The couple had agreed that the husband would return after singing practice and pick up his wife. The wife explained: "I went in the store and I felt funny. I felt lonesome by myself, even though my little girl was with me. I had a real funny feeling in my stomach, and I couldn't shop. So I went to a phone, called my husband, and he came and got me" (Spring 1969). Because this woman was considered to be a mature, responsible adult by her family and friends, it would be incorrect to attribute her behaviour to "psychological problems". Instead, she was reacting in line with normal cultural expectations regarding dependence on kin. Later she said: "I never go anywhere now without my family. I just don't like to do that anymore" (Fall 1969).

This same family usually returned to the reservation at every possible opportunity to visit kin and attend important ceremonies. Occasionally the wife and daughter returned home while the husband had to remain in the Bay Area and work. The husband would them go to his mother-in-law's house after work in order to eat and socialize. One summer the wife and daughter, and the wife's mother, father, and brother returned to the reservation for ceremonies and visiting, leaving the husband in the city with no relatives to visit and eat with after work. I soon received a phone call from the husband. Apparently he could no longer stand his isolation, since he was, in effect, temporarily stripped of his kin group. The change in his usual self-esteem was marked. He attempted to put up a brave front, but his voice trailed off, and he managed to mention that he had lost five pounds in only three days. From this I concluded that he was probably not eating at all. Although it is not unusual for people from any background to feel lonely when left alone, in this case the effect of being left alone without kin was more than simple loneliness. Here, lack of immediate kin seemed to be a major departure from basic values. Furthermore, it was evident that despite all attempts to be jovial, this responsible, mature man was reduced to considerable anxiety by the simple fact of being left alone for two weeks. On this occasion he had been unable to obtain leave from his highly-paid job in order to return to the reservation with the rest of the family. Furthermore, since his own major obligations were more closely linked to those of his father than to those of his wife's family and clan, it was acceptable for him to remain in the city and work while his wife and her kin returned to the reservation for activities which primarily concerned their side of the family. The wife and her parents had wondered about the wisdom of leaving this man by himself, but could find no compromise for kinship obligations versus the husband's need to keep his job by reporting for work. In addition, the husband would be able to earn a great deal of extra money by working almost continuous overtime shifts while the family was away. He was considered one of the most valuable workers at his firm, was given overtime work whenever he wanted it, and was often called at home and asked to report for overtime work in order to help the company meet contract deadlines.

After working at his industrial job sixteen hours a day for three days, it was apparent that this man needed to rest for at least one shift. He went home, but could not bear to remain by himself. He then made several phone calls until he found a family friend who was home. Hints were made that perhaps I might feed him. These hints triggered the correct response on my part. After all, I was practically a member of the family, ate constantly at this family's home, and should have known that an isolated family member is an anxiety-striken family member. Certainly this family had volunteered a great deal of effort in trying to alleviate my incomprehensible student isolation, and had repeatedly invited me to move in with them in case I ever came to my senses and spent more time on kinship networks instead of reading so many books.

The strategics of this reciprocal kinship obligation were solved when it occurred to me that if my sister, her husband, and I fed this man together at my sister's home, then that would be acceptable for all concerned. Ignoring subtle hints for meals would have been unthinkable, since one always feeds and shares when even the slightest hint is made, because that is the way things are done in many Indian families. Furthermore, I knew that I could not live with myself if I were thought to be "stingy", or if I otherwise failed to meet obvious kinship obligations. My sister, her husband, and I thus arranged meals for this man, who somehow managed to survive two emotionally trying weeks without his family, despite the fact that we were not very good substitutes for "real kin". Later, the wife called us and thanked us for what we had done for her husband, though we didn't feel it had been very much. Moreover, the husband complained so forcefully to his extended family about being left alone that they did not leave him alone in the city again.

These observations and many others pointed to the importance of kin and kinship-based emotional ties for many urban Indians in the Bay Area. Even an anthropologist might be incorporated into kinship roles, taught proper kinship behaviour, and disciplined with respect to kinship obligations. Regardless of tribal backgrounds, the underlying qualities of domestic and extended family relationships among many Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's were not like the kinship structures and sentiments of most middle-class urban whites (though they may have been comparable to those of some urban ethnic groups such as Italians, Lebanese, or Chinese). It was my observation that many Indians in the Bay Area considered close friends as "kin", and that a majority of close, personal relationships tended to be defined as some form of kinship (cf. Stack 1964). In fact, almost all relationships in the daily lives of these people followed patterns of kinship or semi-kinship. Often, whenever Indians related to "outsiders" other than store clerks and the like, these relationships were eventually managed on a personal, kinship-oriented basis, where "outsiders" were incorporated into kinship networks and obligations. Though the structure of kinship relationships and networks among Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's varied from traditional to very different from traditional, the sheer emphasis on kinship itself, as well as the affect associated with kinship ties and obligations was striking.

This heavy emphasis on family ties and kinship affect among Bay Area Indians differed somewhat from the kinship formats described for some urban Blacks (cf. Liebow 1967; and Stack 1974). First, among Bay Area Indians, the frequency of true blood kin was approximately the opposite of that described for some urban Blacks. Blood kin living in the Bay Area, on home reservations, and elsewhere (including those living in other cities) were completely central to the lives and daily interactions of most urban Indians. By contrast, descriptions of some urban Blacks indicated that fictive kin were more often incorporated by these Blacks into kinship networks as substitutes for blood kin than was the case for urban Indians. In other words, urban Indians spent more time with "true" or blood kin, and had fewer fictive kin integrated into their kinship networks than some groups of urban Blacks. Second, Indians in the Bay Area tended to live in extended family units whenever possible, and to organize most of their time, energy, and resources around relationships with domestic and extended kin. Among some urban Blacks (cf. Liebow 1967), the interaction of groups of males without the constant presence of women and children, and of women and their children without the constant presence of adult males was more frequent. This may have been due to the fact that urban Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area had better access to jobs than the urban Blacks described by Liebow and Stack, and as a result were less often the recipients of welfare payments, and less often subjected to the influences of welfare policies and procedures on their domestic life. The fact that Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1969-1970 had average family and per capita incomes which were higher than the average family and per capita incomes for Bay Area Blacks, despite a much larger population of Blacks, is easily demonstrated by 1970 Census data on incomes. For all Blacks living in Oakland, California in 1969-1970, the median family income was $7,700.00, the mean family income was $8,465.00, and the per capita income was $2,365.00. For all Blacks living in San Francisco, California in 1969-1970, the median family income was $7,676.00, the mean family income was $8,591.00, and the per capita income was $2,585.00. Compare this with income data for all Indians living in San Francisco-Oakland in 1969-1970, who had a median family income of $8,790.00, a mean family income of $9,745.00, and a per capita income of $2,651.00 (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1973a, Section One, pp. 6-650, 6-651, and 1973b:170; see also the section titled "Families and Incomes" in Chapter Two).

As a result of data gathered during this study, it may be possible to clarify the relationship between kinship ties, kinship affect, and urban adjustment which was apparent among Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area. The link between kinship and affect was probably first described by Radcliffe-Brown (1953:112; see also Pocock 1961:57; and Fortes 1969:76). Many observations on dropout rates for Native Americans from government programs, rates of return to reservations, and the constant visiting back and forth between relocation cities and reservations seem to make sense if viewed in terms of the affect or emotional meaning which accompanies Indian kinship ties. If kinship affect is seen as a resource comparable to land, money, jobs, or other tangible assets, then the maintenance of viable kinship affect would be an extremely valuable adaptation for survival among people who have been politically and socially excluded from access to other resources. In that light, the maintenance of a heavy emphasis on kinship affect would produce organized human resources where there was no access to other resources, and would further ensure the continuing allegiance of kin, as well as the sharing of any resources which kin groups might be able to produce in the face of migration and rapid social change. In short, an emphasis on kinship affect would facilitate survival.

If kinship stability and solidarity were good predictors of adaptation to the city for Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's, then the 1968-1969 public schools sample should have demonstrated some correlation between family life and adjustment to school. This was in fact the case. Only three of the twenty-four students surveyed were "unadjusted" to school according to criteria set by their schools and accepted by both the students and their families (see Appendix X, and the section titled "Criteria for School Adjustment" in Chapter Four). In each of these cases, lack of adjustment to school was correlated with serious family disorganization as the only relevant variable which could explain "unacceptable" school behaviour. Six other students in the sample demonstrated a partial level of adjustment to school which was correlated with some degree of family strain, but not with severe family disorganization. The remaining fifteen students in the sample were both adjusted to school, and living in stable and supportive family situations. In addition, with the exception of one adjusted student who was somewhat mentally retarded (educable mentally retarded), and one unadjusted student who was living in a boy's home, the amount of genealogical detail which was volunteered with great interest by these students when all were asked about kin was impressive (see Appendix VIII). The content of genealogical data volunteered reflected a heavy emphasis on, and attention to details of extended family networks. It also reflected large amounts of time spent in personally observing and relating to extended kin. Significantly, both males and females could produce extensive genealogical detail. This was not the case in one nearby rural white community in

California which I observed, where there was a heavy emphasis on kin, but where women were the primary managers of kinship relationships and could, therefore, verbalize far more extensive genealogical detail than men. Also, due to longer experience with kin, high school students in the public schools sample had more control over genealogical facts about extended kin than did elementary school students. And, unlike the students who were from backgrounds with a patrilineal or bilateral emphasis, and who thus tended to place equal stress on kin from both sides of the family, the matrilineally-oriented students (Pueblos and Navajos) in the sample were more able to relate details about relatives on their mother's side of the family than on their father's side of the family. Again, this reflected more time spent with extended matrilineal kin than with kin on the father's side of the family.

There were of course many Indians in the Bay Area in the late 1960's who experienced problems of adjustment, loneliness, and anxiety over being away from kin back home. Such individuals could sometimes become maladjusted, alcoholic, or otherwise personally disorganized. However, these cases may simply have been more "visible" than whites or others in equivalent situations once their problems became "known" and they were identified as

"Indians". Note that McEntire, et. al. found that in 1958, Bay Area law enforcement agencies did not report any noticeable contact with urban Indians, and that Indians in the area were not conspicuous for their arrests for any reasons, including drunkenness (1958:117-118, 144). On the other hand, Ablon observed that in 1962, Indian people in Oakland and San Francisco had a low crime rate, with a low total number of arrests, but that between 83 and 93 per cent of all Indian arrests were drunk arrests (1963:28).

These general trends for contact with law enforcement agencies continued into the late 1960's. United States Census figures show that in 1970, 2.5 per cent of the total Indian population of San Francisco-Oakland, and 1.4 per cent of the total Indian population of San Jose were inmates of institutions (institutions not specified by types). Compare this with 2.3 per cent of all urban Indians in 1970 and 1.8 per cent of all Indians nationally as inmates of institutions, again institutions not specified by types. Note also that 1970 statistics for Indians in institutions in the San Francisco-Oakland area may have reflected the excellent health care facilities of the San Francisco Bay Area, some of which--such as the University of California Medical Centre in San Francisco--drew Indian and Eskimo clients from as far away as Alaska (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b:18, 140).

CHAPTER IV

THE 1968-1969 EAST SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA PUBLIC SCHOOLS SAMPLE

The Sample: Locating and Working with Indian Students

The twenty-four Indian students who were included in the sample of Indians enrolled in public schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area during the 1968-1969 school year came from a wide variety of backgrounds. They represented almost all Indians attending five randomly-selected public schools in East Bay neighbourhoods where many Indians tended to live. Three of these schools were located in Richmond, and two were located in Oakland, California.

There were thirteen high school females, six high school males, two elementary-school girls, and three elementary school boys in the sample. The large number of high school females in the sample may have represented the effect of kinship obligations on urban migration patterns for high school-age Indian girls. High school-age Indian boys were less likely to be recruited to the city in the same fashion as girls. In three cases in the sample, high school-age girls had moved to the Bay Area in order to help adult sisters, all of whom worked full-time, with the sisters' very young children. Each of these girls stated that they had also come to the Bay Area in order to attend high school "in the city", and that they were satisfied with this decision. Finally, since the majority of their time outside of school was occupied with domestic duties, none of these girls participated in extra-curricular activities at their schools.

Tribal backgrounds of all students in the sample and a comparison of these with demographic features of the Bay Area Indian community in the late 1960's were presented in the section titled "Demography" in Chapter Two. Information on some of the Pueblo students in the sample was given in Chapter Three. For further information on the students and their parents as a group, including methods of relocation to the city, parental occupations, and participation in the Bay Area Indian community, see Chapters One and Two.

Locating Indian students in East Bay public schools was sometimes a slow process. In the first place, Indian students were not always known to school personnel unless they had some sort of overt "problem", usually truancy. The high proportions of Mexican-Americans and other minorities attending East Bay schools in the late 1960's meant that Indian students tended to melt into the total ethnic mosaic. Of all minorities attending East Bay schools at that time, Indians were among the least visible. This was partially due to their small numbers relative to other minorities, but was also due to their behaviour in school. Indian students who were unadjusted to school or who had other problems tended to skip classes, or skip school altogether rather than to act out their emotions in the school setting or confront aspects of school which they disliked. This pattern of behav[illegible] was so common that teachers and others often remarked how much they appreciated the polite manners and quiet demeanour of those students known to be Indians. Compared to other students, who were sometimes openly rebellious, Indian students seldom, if ever, caused any trouble in school. However, it was noted that some Indians were not always in class. Teachers and other personnel also remarked that it was common for certain Indian students to skip individual classes, or to skip school altogether. Later, I learned that there was in fact a feeling of rebellion towards school and even towards classmates on the part of some Indian students included in this study, but that they did not openly express hostility or rebellion within the school setting. Instead, those Indian students who were under heavy personal tension simply did not come to school, did not attend specific classes, or failed to show up at appointed times for testing and interviews if they didn't feel like coming.

My main technique for locating Indian students in schools consisted of approaching counsellors, school secretaries, or others who were in direct contact with students and requesting the names and class schedules of Indians. Though school personnel could not always identify all students who were Indians, this technique proved workable. In only one case, where a student was half Eskimo and half white, was an identification made by school personnel incorrect. It appeared that although school personnel could not always identify all students in their schools who were Indians, those whom they could identify were correctly distinguished from the many other minorities enrolled in their schools. After gathering a list of names, I then sent request slips to those students who had been identified as Indians asking them to appear for interviews whenever they had a free period or study hall.

During interviews I then asked the students themselves which other students in their schools were

Indians. Even where they were not personal friends or relatives, high school students in particular often kept some track of other Indians in their schools, and could provide the names of some or all of the other Indian students attending their schools. In addition, names of siblings, relatives, or Indian friends and neighbours attending other schools in the area were volunteered by several students, although these individuals were not contacted unless they happened to be attending schools where I later worked.

I soon discovered that the number of Indian students enrolled in any given school was much smaller than expected when compared to available census estimates on numbers of Indians in the Bay Area. The largest number of Indian students which I was able to locate in any high school was seven, and two high schools each produced this number. However, since elementary and junior high schools were not examined in depth, this may not have represented the average number of Indians per school in Richmond and Oakland at the time. The small number of Indians enrolled in East Bay high schools may have been due to two variables. First, many unsuccessful students may have been sent back to reservations at the initiative of urban kin, or as a result of consultation between urban and reservation kin.

One unadjusted student in the sample had in fact followed this pattern, but only for temporary visits. Second, as was the case for another high school student who was encountered during the pilot phase of the research, unsuccessful students may have occasionally asked permission to return to their reservations in order to attend school on the reservation because they felt they had a better chance of graduating from an "easier" reservation high school. Finally, the consistently young median age of Indians living in the San Francisco-Oakland area between 1960 and 1970 (which remained consistent throughout that decade) may have provided a partial explanation (see Appendix III). Despite an increase of 172.3 per cent for the total San Francisco-Oakland Indian population between 1960 and 1970, Indian males living in the San Francisco-Oakland area between 1960 and 1970 maintained a median age of about 23, while Indian females maintained a median age of between 22 and 23. A population with these consistently young median ages for males and females, large numbers of whom migrated to the city at an age when they were ready to enter the labour force for the first time, would be unlikely to have many children of high school age.

After discovering that high schools seemed to have relatively few Indian students, I decided to interview all Indians in each high school where I worked instead of sampling percentages of Indians per school. Moreover, tensions in East Bay schools at the time caused school personnel and administrators to be cautious about the presence of unauthorized persons in high schools, and it was necessary to spend several days estalishing myself at each new school. Although I carried official letters of permission to work in the Richmond and Oakland public schools, I usually had to wait until school administrators could verify my identity with central office personnel before I could begin work.

Once I was allowed to begin work in a school, I was assigned a work area, usually an unused room or space in the library. In three schools I moved around during the day, using different rooms which were free at various times. In the remaining two schools I was allocated a permanent space where I could carry out interviews and testing without interruption.

Students were informed that I was doing a study of school performance, and that their participation was voluntary. Three standard psychological tests were given to all students, and The Strong Vocational Interest Blank and one other standard test were also given to high school students. The interview form described in Appendix VIII, including genealogical data, was likewise filled out in detail for each student, and high school students were asked to write three essays (see Appendix IX). School records were noted, teachers and other school personnel were interviewed, some classrooms were visited, and in three cases, student homes were observed. Field notes were kept on discussions and observations not recorded on the test or interview forms. Significantly, interviews with parents were not conducted on a systematic basis because among other things, the fact that many of these people knew one another socially through Indian community activities and personal networks would have caused word of mouth communication to affect the participation of some students in the study. For example, after hearing about the interviews, the parents of one Pueblo student in the sample told their daughter not to answer any more questions about Pueblo kinship and culture. These same parents then requested that the parents of other Pueblo students in the sample, some of whom were relatives, also instruct their children not to answer any more questions. Although I was able to reassure these students and continue working with them, I had come face to face with the common Pueblo anxiety that outsiders may cause difficulty by prying into details of Pueblo culture. Though more pronounced in the case of the Pueblo students, most of whom lived in Santa Fe Indian Village, the phenomena of urban Indian communication networks and possible tensions about being studied had to be taken into account. Deference and respect paid by many Indian youngsters to adult kin also had to be considered. If they thought that I had been, or would be in contact with their parents, most of the students would have behaved formally during interviews, and would not have spoken as freely as they did.

Computer profiles for the Strong Vocational Interest Blank were returned to each of the high school students and discussed with them on an individual basis (see Appendix XI). Most students were interested in their Strong profiles, and all were encouraged to discuss the results of this test with their families. Important points about the interpretation of Strong scores, such as the fact that the scores measure vocational interests rather than abilities, and that the Strong is more valid for high school seniors than for younger students were made clear. Unlike results for the Strong, the other test results were not returned to students. With respect to these four other tests, I felt that group results were more important than individual scores, and that individual scores would be either meaningless, or perhaps harmful for the students. In addition, although the other tests were extremely valuable in providing individual attention, establishing rapport, and encouraging students to talk freely, the Strong provided the only results which seemed to correlate with aspects of behaviour and achievement which were important to the central purpose of this study. It is thus the only test whose results are presented here (see the section titled "Plans for the Future" in this chapter, as well as Appendix XI).

A total of twenty families were represented by the twenty-four students included in the 1968-1969 school sample. In one of the two high schools where there were seven Indian students, four of these students were cousins, but not siblings. Another high school, as well as the elementary school included in the study, each provided a pair of siblings. When this same high school was matched with the elementary school, there was a younger sibling of one of the high school students present in the elementary school. Finally, in yet another high school, I encountered a younger sibling of a student who was enrolled in one of the high schools where I had already worked. The two younger siblings of older high school students in the study provided important information regarding correlations between family organization and school performance.

In all four cases of sibling pairs included in the sample, family organization was strongly correlated with school performance, and siblings behaved similarly in school. In two of these cases, including the high school-elementary school sibling pair, both families were well-organized, and both sibling pairs performed at a level which clearly indicated adjustment to school. In the other two cases of sibling pairs, both families were disorganized (meaning that the parents had split up after serious fighting), and both sibling pairs performed poorly in school. However, in the case of the sibling pairs which displayed poor school performance, one sibling each was placed in the unadjusted group, while the other sibling of the pair was placed in the partially-adjusted group. Significantly, the families of both of these two sibling pairs were also the only two families in the sample where members of families were receiving welfare payments. In one of these families, the mother received welfare payments because her husband was absent and she was unable to work full-time due to poor health (although she did work part-time as a door-to-door saleswoman for women's cosmetics). In the case of the other family receiving welfare, the student herself received an Aid to Dependent Children allowance for her young infant, and turned all of this money into the general family coffer.

As a group, the students included in this study were easy to work with, and most seemed interested in the tests and interviews which they were asked to complete. With the possible exception of spending too much time with each student at the expense of a larger sample size, there were no real difficulties. Furthermore, once I had finished working in the first group of high schools, I contacted several students in the sample who were attending these schools and asked if they would like to work as tutors for elementary school children in the Oakland Intertribal Friendship House Tutorial Program. Earlier that fall, political factions at the Intertribal Friendship House had caused Head Tutors for the Tutorial Program to resign (see the section titled "The Influence of Civil Rights" in Chapter Two). Following these resignations I had been asked to assume the job of Head Tutor, partially because I had worked in the program for five years and, therefore, had some experience with it, but more likely because of my status as a neutral observer and non-participant in House politics. There had been some difficulty in staffing the Tutorial Program with Indian tutors that year, and I felt that many of the high school students who were included in my study would be ideally suited for this task. All who were asked to participate in the Tutorial Program agreed, and most seemed to interpret the invitation to participate as an indication that they had performed well on the tests and interviews which they had received as part of my study. In reality they were selected on the basis of my estimation that they could successfully work with young children, some of whom had been chosen for participation in the Tutorial Program by the Intertribal Friendship House Social Worker because they had emotional problems. In addition, it was possible to convince the older sister of one of the students included in my study to assume the task of Head Tutor when I left the Bay Area later that year. Follow-up information indicated that this girl performed very well in that capacity.

Several students in the sample enjoyed the personal attention they received through tests and interviews so much that they resented it when I later worked exclusively with other students, and especially when I left their schools. Individualized tests and interviews represented attention and recognition which they needed, but were missing in their home environments. For example, one grade school child who had been consistently truant throughout his entire academic career in an East Oakland elementary school suddenly began coming to school every day. His teacher remarked that she thought this was due to the special attention he was receiving through individualized tests and interviews. High school students who had finished with their tests and interviews frequently stopped by to visit while I was trying to work with other students. Unless I tried very hard to remain in control, many of the test and interview sessions became social situations, and the work moved slowly. Some of the high school students began calling me at home, and some wanted to visit "my school" to see what it was like. Finally, with formal permission from their school and written permission from their parents, I took a group of high school students on a one-day tour of the University of California, Berkeley campus. We attended classes, visited the library and research laboratories, and talked with three professors. I vaguely hoped that this educational outing would encourage some of the students to aspire to attend college. Later I felt that this thinking was somewhat naive. The students enjoyed visiting the University of California research laboratories, classes, and professors, but appeared openly bored by the library. Two of them wanted to go bowling in the Student Union, and one wanted to view the "hippies" on Telegraph Avenue. Again, it was the adventure provided by this outing which seemed to impress them most.

Soon after the outing it became clear that the reason some Indian students skipped school or disliked school in general was because school seemed impersonal or boring, and thus meaningless to them. In contrast, personal relationships with extended kin groups and close friends seemed to be their most important priorities. If students in the school sample felt that I was genuinely interested in them and that they were free to behave informally, they would cooperate fully on assigned tasks, and would begin expressing themselves in depth. Otherwise, I usually received only superficial information, and sometimes they would not cooperate at all. At the beginning of the study I lost two or three students in the sample because I was too business-like and did not relate to them personally. As a result, they skipped appointments for tests and interviews, or school, or both. This behaviour was different from that of the non-Indian students I had previously interviewed and tested in other schools. As a group, non-Indians (including non-Indian minorities) worked more consistently and productively in formal circumstances, and were usually more verbal with strangers. On the other hand, Indian students seemed to respond best to informal or personalized situations. Most of the Indian students I encountered were extremely well-mannered, but talked as little as possible unless a personal relationship had been extablished at my initiative. Conversations with people who taught interviewing techniques and related subjects at the

University of California indicated that this behaviour in the presence of adults was likewise the case for Chinese youth and others from strong, family-oriented backgrounds, where deference towards adults was expected, and where adults normally initiated and organized most aspects of relationships between themselves and younger members of their families.

Once a personalized relationship had been established with each Indian student, the students would usually become extremely talkative. Some even tried to remain in the interview situation for as long as possible, energetically providing extended conversations when it appeared that assigned tasks had been completed. After Indian high school students also began stopping by to "visit" during free periods, there were occasionally three or four visitors, all of whom talked, laughed, joked with each other, watched the students being tested, and commented on answers to the questionnaire. This situation had its disadvantages from my standpoint, but was preferable to complete silence. Furthermore, it became apparent that informal group conversations were an important aid in encouraging Indian students to express themselves. If I wanted to work with Indian students, then informality and a personalized situation at my initiative seemed necessary. Personalization was established through individual testing, the rather lengthy interview described in Appendix VIII, my own attitude towards the students, and the fact that I was able to handle certain cultural features of these students' lives which a non-Anthropologist might not have been able to manage. For example, due to cultural attitudes regarding physical distance, three of the elementary students sat with one foot touching mine once they had relaxed. Also, one high school girl began to discuss her family only after I was able to demonstrate that I had some grasp of matrilineal kinship, while one young Navajo child consistently corrected my use of kinship terms, softly announcing the correct Navajo equivalent in English each time I mentioned a term. Wax and Thomas (1961), Wax, Wax, and Holy Rock (1964), and others have described aspects of American Indian etiquette which are different from those of non-Indians.

Throughout this phase of the research, it was hoped that observation of the adjustment of a random sample of Indian students to public schools would yield insights about the general adjustment of Indians to primary urban institutions, and thus to life in a major metropolitan area. In preparation for a more detailed discussion of students in this sample, including their adjustment to school, a few brief comments about East

Bay public schools in the late 1960's, as well as their requirements for satisfactory behaviour and achievement are in order.

The East Bay Public Schools in 1968-1969

During the late 1960's, many schools in the San Francisco Bay Area reflected the social changes and tensions of that decade. Some of these tensions were related to the Viet Nam War, some to problems of urban growth, and some to other, less obvious, and very complex phenomena. The "drug problem" was evident in high schools, and it touched some students in my sample. Destruction of school property and "student unrest" were also fairly common, but did not generally upset the normal functioning of schools. As an adaptation to the vandalism which occurred during that time, one of the newer high schools where I worked had no outside windows. At an older high school in the same district which did have outside windows, I tested and interviewed students in a room where more window panes were missing each Monday morning. As I talked with students, workmen patiently replaced broken panes with fiberglass panels. One weekend, $25,000.00 worth of damage occurred at an elementary school in the same district. At still another East Bay high school, I was searching through records in the main office one day when a small cherry bomb sailed by and landed on the floor. A seasoned secretary got up from her desk, calmly approached the bomb, stamped it out, threw it in the waste paper basket, and quietly returned to work. In the same school, groups of male students would sometimes burst into the library and "tell off" the librarian at the top of their lungs, or do the same thing in the main office or the attendance office. With years of experience, innate wisdom, or both, school employees usually appeared calm in the face of difficulties. One high school hall monitor who had faced heavy verbal abuse all year was heard on the last day of school to say: "I'm lonesome. It's too quiet around here. No kids!"

During the 1968-1969 school year at least one Bay Area high school in which I worked experienced a "riot", I met teachers whose cars had been vandalized at school, one district faced an organized blacklisting and strike by teachers which was later called to the attention of the National Education Association, and one district underwent conflict over a tax increase for its schools. Other signs of social tension included a high school senior who was shot one day, but not seriously injured while walking through the halls of his school, and an "incident" at one high school where the arrest of four students over suspected possession of narcotics led to "a brief outbreak of rock-throwing, arson, and name-calling of police".

An Indian student who was included in the sample described a particularly eventful day at her high school in the late spring of 1969:

> We were sitting in Government class today when we heard a lot f kids running down the hall outside with chairs. My Government teacher went out in the hall with a chair, but I don't know if he had to use it. Some of the Blacks were beating up whites and jumping on any white kids they could see, except of course for Hippies. One white guy had been beaten and was lying on the floor. His head and leg were bleeding, and he couldn't walk on his leg after that. They were beating up a Mexican girl, too. She kept trying to tell them she was Mexican, but they didn't believe her.
>
> I'm not sure how all this started, but it may have started when some Black kids went over to community called X. People said something derogatory to them, and I guess they got mad and went on a rampage. Then, the school Community Worker had a heart attack right there and died because of all of this. Kids said he turned green, and although people tried to give him mouth to mouth resescitation, he died anyway. They announced his heart attack over the school loudspeaker, and it took forever for the ambulance to get there.

> By second period everything was so bad that they let the school out. All of this had started before, during first period. Then, to top everything off, some kids took down the U.S. and California flags and burned them. Dumb!

Fortunately the majority of school "incidents" did not directly affect most of the students I was observing. In many cases I felt that tensions in the schools were over-publicized. School went on as usual, and students, teachers, and school officials coped with most difficulties. Often, sophisticated humour emerged from these pressures.

The point of such observations is not to paint a bleak picture of schools which students in this study were attending, but to present some indication of pressures on schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area at the time, and to indicate a few of the complex conditions under which students and various school personnel were trying to function. Most of these pressures were by no means specific to the schools. Instead, they were reflections of broader social change and events in communities where the schools were located.

Teachers and other personnel in East Bay Schools were often aware of normal behaviour caused by cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians. For example, a secretary in an attendance office remarked that except for one, very gregarious Indian student, who seemed more outgoing than most, Indians tended to "withdraw and be very quiet in the lunchroom". In addition, a high school History teacher described a Pueblo student in the sample:

> X is a good kid. The other boys in the class like him, and in a popularity contest he would rank high. He has an absolutely great sense of humour. He doesn't communicate as much verbally as other students (in classroom situations), and hates to speak in front of the class, but he communicates very well with facial expressions. He and I understand one another. He gives me a kind of look which is funny, and which means he's laughing along with me. I don't think more than about two of the other boys in the class could verbalize their feelings towards him, but they are aware that he is there, and they're glad he's there. It's like, "There's X!" They know X is there. They think he's a Chicano, and they like him. He jokes around quite a bit, but he does much of his communicating without speech.

Criteria for School Adjustment

Large public institutions may be perceived in many ways and used for a variety of purposes by participants. Nevertheless, adaptation and achievement within the context of a legitimate, public institution also means that participants must meet the institution's own publicly-stated and publicly-displayed criteria for success. For this reason, a workable definition of adjustment to any public institution must include both the private use (or uses) of the institution by participants, and the publicly-displayed criteria for success within the context of the institution as stated by the institution itself. Where an institution's own criteria for success do not conflict with the private uses and perceptions of the institution held by participants, and where the private use of the institution by participants incorporates accessible goals, then participants are usually able to satisfy both their own needs and demands placed upon them by an institution without undue stress or disillusionment.

The majority of Indian students who were included in this study, as well as their kin, viewed success in school at any grade level as behaviour which led to graduation from high school. Graduation from high school was a valued goal because it was seen as essential for obtaining a good job (cf. Wax, Wax, and Holy Rock 1964). This was particularly clear as a frequent response to the first essay question given to high school students, or "What School Means to Me" (see Appendix IX). Five different students in the sample wrote:

> The use of school is to prepare you for college or a job. If you take business courses, you can learn the basic fundamentals of office work and what you can do for a job.

> School means getting ahead to get a good job, and knowing something about the job you might tackle so you can succeed in it.

> If I had a chance to quit school, I would continue on to graduate so that I can work.

> I need a high school diploma because it's hard to get a decent-paying job without one.

> The use of school is very important, because when I get out of school, I want to be able to get a job with any company or business I feel I am qualified to undertake. At times I wonder why kids drop out of school. Is it because they don't want a good job when they graduate? Or is it that they don't realize that the cost of living is going up? I would of course graduate.

From these and other observations it soon became clear that the private use of school by students in the sample leaned heavily towards successful employment upon graduation from high school. In turn, a good job was seen as a necessary and valuable contribution to the welfare of domestic and extended kin.

In order to succeed in school at any grade level, Indian students had to fulfill three formal criteria for school performance as defined by the East Bay Public Schools. In order of importance, these criteria were: 1) Grades; 2) Regular school attendance; and 3) Lack of recorded disciplinary action by schools towards a student. Although some of these criteria and other aspects of school organization may have been irrelevant to practical aspects of many Indian students' lives (although very important to the organization of schools), none of these formal criteria for success in school actually conflicted with the valued goal of employment after high school. Thus, these three criteria for success and other aspects of school life could be tolerated by the majority of Indian students if they were perceived as eventually leading to graduation from high school and successful employment. As long as an Indian student performed satisfactorily with respect to these formal criteria for success in school, the student did not necessarily have to like all aspects of school, or to consider everything about school as important. Recognition and respect from kin for meeting their expectations about eventual graduation from high school was sufficient motivation to keep most Indian students working towards acceptable school performance on a day to day basis.

Unlike other minorities who lacked access to equivalent resources (cf. Liebow 1967; Ogbu 1974; and Stack 1974), Indian students who stayed in school and graduated could usually count on government-sponsored training programs and employment services (see Chapter One). Employment opportunities for urban Indian high school graduates were thus considerably better than those for other minorities. Students in the study were aware of this fact, and so were their kin. As a result, most Indian students and their kin saw the schools in very practical terms. The fact that some of the students' parents had not finished high school (or even grade school), and that most of these parents had little previous experience with urban schools were not major varia[illegible] affecting the performance of Indian students in school (see Appendix X). On the other hand, the organization of urban Indian families, including their attitudes and expectations regarding the performance of youngsters in school, were the key variables which determined behaviour and achievement in school. By comparison, Ogbu (1974:58-80) recorded that among Black and Chicano migrants to the city, urbanization and increasing opportunities for employment altered the attitudes of migrants in the direction of a greater emphasis on education, including higher parental aspirations regarding the education of their children (though these aspirations were not always activated). Ogbu also found that variations in parental levels of education, occupations, type of income (wages or public assistance), family structure (organized single-parent or two-parent homes), ethnicity, or fluency in English did not account for children's marks in school (p. 82).

For the most part, the Indian students I observed were not interested in teenage "popularity", extra-curricular activities at their schools, or other features of school life which were not directly related to passing each grade and graduating from high school. Neither were these students as a group oriented towards "super-achievement" with respect to academic work, although two of the high school students had received scholastic awards. Instead, most of these students were oriented towards doing well enough in school to meet family expectations for regular progression through the grades, graduation from high school, and future employment.

As a result of their attitudes towards school, the criteria for achievement in school as required by schools which Indian students in this study were attending were largely accepted by the students and their kin. Because of this acceptance by both Indian students and their families, the criteria were incorporated into the present study as central markers for the adaptation and adjustment of Indian students to their schools:

1. Grades (Marks). This was the most important and definitive criterion for performance and adjustment in school. A student's grades or marks should have reflected academic work which was on a par with the majority of students at the same grade level. For elementary students, this meant "Satisfactory" marks in most subjects, ability to read at grade level, and ability to do mathematical problems and other normally required work at grade level. Older students, such as those in high school, should have maintained an overall grade average of "C" or better, where the letter "C" meant average academic achievement (or as Ogbu found, the average mark given to students; cf. 1974:164-169). Other possible marks according to the grading system used by high schools in the East San Francisco Bay Area in 1968-1969 were "F" for failing, "D" for below average, "B" for above

average, and "A" for excellent. A student could receive a few "D" or "F" marks and still be considered as functioning at grade level if there were not very many of these marks, and if the student's overall grade average remained a "C" or better.

2. Regular school attendance. Normal students who were enrolled in either elementary school or the upper grades should seldom have been tardy or absent. When asked, teachers and other school personnel stated that one or two full days absence a month was an average, or a little above average rate for excused or valid absences. A student could sometimes miss more school than this and still be considered an average or above average student, if the student managed to keep up with his or her work and received a final grade average of at least a "C".

School attendance was correlated with school performance in that poor attendance could affect marks, or even promotion to the next grade level where lack of attendance was severe enough to cause failing work and failing marks. As one example of this, the only elementary school student in the sample who was placed in the unadjusted group had failed an entire grade level the previous year as a result of severe truancy and failing marks (see Appendix X, Variables One and Two).

Absences from school were divided into two categories, or valid (legal) and non-valid (illegal) absences. Absences were considered valid and excusable when a student could provide written evidence from parents, doctors, dentists, and the like that the absences were of a type considered legal by the schools. Such absences usually included illness, family emergencies, doctor and dentist appointments, and on occasion, school trips. In general, valid absences occurred where a student was literally unable to come to school (e.g. illness and family emergencies), or where a student needed to conduct legitimate business which could be handled only during school hours (e.g. doctor and dentist appointments, or school trips). Most other absences were not considered valid. Furthermore, since local school districts were funded on the basis of state apportionments for average daily attendance, non-valid absences caused schools to lose funds. Three successive non-valid absences constituted truancy, and students with too many illegal absences were formally disciplined by their schools. At the judgement of schools, excessive truancy could lead to suspension from school, referral to the Truancy Hearing Officer of the Juvenile Division of the County Probation Department, or even to legal action against parents (although the latter action was fairly rare).

As an illustration of school procedures regarding truancy, consider the following case. After an impressive number of non-valid absences during the last half of the previous school year, the parent of one student in the 1968-1969 school sample was sent a note from the school Guidance Officer which cited Sections 12101 and 12454 of the Education Code of California. Section 12101 of the Code stated that each parent or guardian in charge of any child between the ages of eight and sixteen was required to send the child to a full-time day school on a regular basis. Section 12454 of the Code stated that any parent or guardian who failed to comply with the law concerning compulsory school attendance would be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction, would be liable to a fine or imprisonment. The parent in question was further informed that failure to reply to the school within seven days with a legally valid reason for the student's absences would cause the school to turn the case over to the Truancy Hearing Officer of the Juvenile Division of the County Probation Department (note, however, that policies and procedures for handling truancies in East Bay schools have changed since 1968-1969). In summary, regardless of reasons and motivations for lack of attendance, parents could ultimately be held legally responsible for the presence of their children in school.

3. Lack of recorded disciplinary action by schools towards a student

Since elementary school students often had to be corrected by teachers in class, this was not usually serious enough to be recorded on a child's school record. Thus, regardless of a student's age or grade level in school, recorded disciplinary action usually occurred where teachers felt obligated to make a note of such action on a student's record, or where school personnel such as the Principal, Vice-Principal, Guidance Officer, Truant Officer, or Hall Monitors, and sometimes even a student's parents, collaborated in discipline.

For purposes of this study, data on disciplinary actions was seen as the only available source of recorded information on rates of student contact with certain defined limits of behaviour within the school setting. Rates of student contact with these limits, as well as the limits themselves could be seen from many perspectives. In the first place, public schools tended to see themselves as striving for certain goals in their efforts to educate students. In order to reach these goals, realistic limits of behaviour were placed on all persons in the school, including students, teachers, and others. People who tested these limits, or who did not function within their boundaries were often recorded on written records. Upon inspection of these records, the nature and frequency of student contacts with defined limits of behaviour within their schools could then be examined. I therefore hypothesized that students who had written records of contact with school limits might be differently adjusted to school than students without records of such contacts. In that case, observations on contacts with defined limits of behaviour in school might be correlated with other indications of school adjustment, or even with behaviour outside of the schools themselves.

Grade averages of most students in the 1968-1969 school sample were surprisingly good when compared to studies in the literature which describe the decline of Indian students with each additional year of school after approximately Grade Four(see for example Berry 1969; Bryde 1966; publications of the U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education; publications regarding Indian Education distributed by the University of Minnesota Training Center for Community Programs; Wax and Wax, et. al.; and others). Only three students out of the twenty-four included in the sample had "D" grade averages, and were thus considered unadjusted to school. These same three students were also the only ones in the sample who could also be classified as seriously unadjusted to school on the basis of inability to meet the other two criteria necessary for satisfactory performance in school, or regular school performance and lack of recorded disciplinary action by schools towards a student (see Appendix X, Variables One, Two, and Three). The three unadjusted students included one male and one female who were in high school, and one male who was in elementary school. None of these were from the same tribe, and none were exactly the same age. With the exception of severe family problems and poor school performance, there were no characteristics which could classify or define them as a "group".

Except for the three unadjusted students, all others in the sample were functioning well, or reasonably well in school at the time of the study (see Appendix X). There were six students in the "partially-adjusted" group who had records of truancy or other problems, but who also managed to meet the most important criterion for school performance, or grade averages of at least a "C-". The remaining fifteen students in the sample were all succeeding in school according to the formal criteria for satisfactory performance listed above.

Weighing the Criteria: Truancy

In the process of grouping students as adjusted, partially-adjusted, and unadjusted to school, it became clear that truancy needed to be qualified because it resulted from at least two different motivations. Moreover, only one form of truancy was correlated with low grades and a history of significant discipline by schools. Where this was the case, truancy was motivated by rebellion, was a serious matter in that it almost always affected school performance, and was difficult for parents or schools to control. The second form of truancy was motivated by a desire for fun and adventure, was often relatively short-lived due to a student's own self control and eventual parental controls, and did not usually interfere with marks or general school performance. Because it did not usually lower a student's marks, truancy for fun and adventure was not by itself a sufficient criterion for placing students in the category of "partially-adjusted", or "unadjusted" to school.

The most serious form of truancy, or truancy in order to express rebellion, was usually the result of disorganized conditions in an Indian student's urban home. In most of these cases, the home situation included an absence of supervision and backing by a group of adult kin. Often, no matter how hard a lone parent who remained in the home after the break-up of a marriage tried, the absence of a group of at least two adult Indian kin meant that controlling children was difficult. Together, a male and female team could usually compensate for the effect of urban life on Indian domestic units (See Chapter Three). For example, between the two of them, a male and female pair could often produce at least some extended family kin in the city. Ties with home reservations further supplemented urban kin, and thus made the presence of extended kin an important reality for children.

When male and female teams broke up, children usually remained with the mother. If extended kin in the city had been located on the father's side of the family, these were usually lost to children as soon as both parents were no longer living together, although this could vary. Furthermore, "lost" urban kin were not always effectively replaced by ties with reservation kin held by the mother, since urban-reservation ties usually functioned to support rather than to replace on-site kin in the city--unless people returned to the reservation as often as possible, sent their children to the reservation for frequent visits, and continually hosted reservation kin in the city. Where an urban mother was competent, and had her own kin in the city who continued to interact with her children after the break-up of her marriage, then the absence of her husband was difficult but not impossible for her children to handle. But where a mother was not competent, or was effectively stripped of kin in the city following the loss of her mate, then the reaction of her children was often immediate and pronounced rebellion.

The rebellion of urban Indian children following the loss of kin upon whom they could normally depend was a predictable result of kinship structure and child-rearing techniques. Regardless of tribal backgrounds, many urban Indians disciplined children through group pressure, where two or more adults functioned as a disciplinary team (see Chapter Three). This technique was most effective when adult kin lived in the same household, but it also worked if kin lived close enough to be summoned whenever necessary. However, if kin became dispersed, Indian parents were often left in worse circumstances with respect to the control of their children than single parents in many other ethnic groups.

Since Indian children had been trained from infancy to respond to groups of adult kin, including group discipline and ridicule whenever they misbehaved, and dependence on the attention, emotional support, and approval of a group of adult kin, they usually rebelled whenever the security of group support was taken away from them. These same urban Indian children had also usually been trained from infancy to avoid disturbing adults by openly challenging their authority (cf. Wax and Thomas 1961). After long experience with groups of kin who formed a united front for purposes of discipline, most Indian youth did not see the open confrontation of adults at home and at school as realistic. Instead, they almost uniformly concluded that rebellion had to be expressed through some other channel, as for example, truancy.

Until it escalated to the point of causing more problems than it solved, truancy made sense as an adaptation to emotional stress. First, truancy gave Indian youth the means to signal rebellion over the emotional turmoil caused by disbandment of familiar kin without the need to directly confront adults. It also temporarily relieved a sense of failure caused by having to cope with school at a time when they were too upset to concentrate on school work. Finally, where truancy was carried out in the company of siblings or close friends, as was often the case (cf. Wax, Wax, and Holy Rock 1964), it provided temporary comfort through much-needed support and recognition from peers.

Unfortunately, where truancy occurred because of rebellion over conditions at home, and was further aggravated by a lack of supervision and emotional support on the part of kin, it generally became severe enough to cause a student's marks to fall below the acceptable "C" or "C-" average. Under such circumstances, truancy was also usually so pronounced that it soon led to formal disciplinary action by schools, and even to intervention by legal authorities. Disciplinary action by schools included phone calls and letters to parents, conferences with parents, and home visits in order to speak with parents. Intervention by legal authorities usually took the form of detentions in Juvenile Hall when students were picked up on the streets by police during school hours (see Criterion Number Three under the above section titled "Criteria for School Adjustment" in this chapter). The three unadjusted students in the 1968-1969 school sample all had truancy records which fit this general pattern of rebellion over circumstances at home, strong discipline by schools as a result of truancy, and eventual detentions in Juvenile Hall. No other students in the study demonstrated these strong correlations between family disorganization, truancy, discipline by their schools, and eventual contact with the law (see Appendix X).

The second motivation for truancy observed during the course of this study was truancy for a "positive end", including entertainment and adventure. Two examples of this are described below. In both cases, student families were organized and truancy was not related to problems at home. Likewise, for these students truancy did not interfere significantly with grade averages, nor did it cause major disciplinary action by their schools. Since the students' families were organized, parents took effective action which usually put an end to absences from school as soon as they became apparent. Finally, since they were not emotionally disorganized, the students themselves placed self-imposed constraints on their behaviour which made it clear that their motivations for missing school were different from the motivations of students who used truancy as a vehicle for expressing rebellion (see the section titled "Peer Groups" in this chapter, as well as Wax, Wax, and Holy Rock 1964).

Some Indian children and adolescents in the San Francisco Bay Area in the late 1960's were very mobile. Many of these embarked upon trips for the sheer adventure of trips whenever the urge struck them and they could manage to get away. Young globe trotters often travelled in pairs, usually with a relative or Indian friend of the same sex. On occasion, adventurous outings could last for days. They could also affect school attendance, since trips for fun and adventure might be undertaken at any time and were not necessarily confined to the summer months. As an example of this, Subject Number Nineteen in the 1968-1969 public schools sample had been an extensive globe trotter until school threats and parental discipline squelched this activity shortly before he was interviewed for purposes of this study. The student's father had also undertaken extensive trips as a youth, and may have influenced his son's desire to see the world through exciting descriptions of his own youthful adventures.

In this case, the student's parents were extremely competent. Both worked full-time, were adept at the use of urban agencies and facilities, participated in the Bay Area Indian community, and returned to visit kin on their home reservation as often as possible. The student in question, who was their oldest child, described his emotions towards his family:

> I feel very close to my brother. I don't know why, but I guess it's just family love, the love of your family which keeps you going. That's the most important thing in life. It's just because my brother is my brother, and that's the way it should be. I love my sisters, too. If anything ever happened to any one of us, my brother and sisters, then none of the rest of us would feel like going on. That's how close we all are, our normal family love for one another. Basic love, I guess. It's kind of hard to describe. Just the way we feel for each other, that's all.
>
> My father was told by a medicine man that he was blessed to have such a good family, and that he would continue to be blessed, because he has worked hard, succeeded, and has always done the right thing. The medicine man said: "You are a nearly perfect father, nearly perfect."

The student also explained his truancy. His account speaks for itself:

> Last year my cousin and I took off. He's a year younger than me. My cousin wanted to travel for adventure, so we hitchhiked to Los Angeles. It was fun! We were gone for a whole week before the police caught us. Then the police called my parents and told them they had found us. My Dad said: "Just keep him there if he's going to do that, if he's going to run off like that," but my Mom said to send me home. When I got home, my Dad said: "Son, why did you run away? Did you want to run away from home?" I said: "No, I didn't want to run away from home. I just wanted to have the adventure."
>
> My parents didn't say too much about the trip after that. I guess they didn't mind too much. Except my Dad said: "Well, once is O.K., but it had better not happen again!" Just like that: "It had better not happen again, Son! You could hurt yourself." So I promised them that it wouldn't happen again, and since then I've had to try to be real good about taking long trips. I don't skip school too much any more, and I've been trying to keep my grades up. (The student had maintained a consistently strong "B" average throughout high school.)
>
> But we had fun! That's my idea of having a good time, travelling around and seeing the country. My Dad did that when he was

younger. He travelled all over the U.S.--Nebraska, all sorts of places. He hitchhiked. I guess that's why he didn't say too much to me about it, because he did it once, too. As long as I wasn't running away from home, and it was just for adventure. But they didn't like the idea of my skipping school.

We went through Barstow and down to San Bernadino. When we got hungry, we ate out of garbage cans behind restaurants and stuff. I didn't mind, it didn't bother me. We slept in back yards and places all over, everywhere. I didn't get sick, either. Once when we were really hungry I said to my friend: "Let's kill a rat!", so he said "O.K." But we didn't find any rats.

We took our fishing poles with us, and they were a burden, man, down in the desert by Barstow, with no water for miles.

We travelled with those Hobos. They are real dirty and nasty, and I felt sorry for them. You shouldn't have any money with you, because they'll take it. Some wanted to share their wine with us, but I said I didn't want any. When they had something, they'd share it with us, when we had something, food or anything, we'd share it with them.

We saw migrant farm workers, and I felt really sorry for them, how they live. They live in cars, on the back of trucks, and in shacks, real nasty shacks. I wish people didn't have to live like that. They don't get much to eat, either. It was very interesting to take that trip, and I'm glad I did.

I don't exactly dislike school, but there's no excitement at school, no fun. School is O.K., and some of the teachers are good, but I don't like it when they read to you out of books, and then you're supposed to say exactly the same thing back to them. That's a drag. I like Algebra, Spanish, Chemistry, Biology, and Science, where you do something new and different every day. For Biology, one day you cut up a mouse, and the next day you do something else. That's what I like best, new material, new problems, new things to think about every day.

I cut school, or used to, because school is so boring. Just because it's boring, that's all. I've been doing things like this since about the Sixth Grade. Usually this year I'd cut school along with my friends. We'd go downtown and "bug" a floorwalker in some store. (This is a game where the student and his friend first located a floorwalker, or plain-clothes security agent, in a large store. They then tip-toed silently around behind the floorwalker, hiding whenever the floorwalker turned to look in their direction, and timing themselves to see how long they could continue the game without being discovered. The object of this imaginative game was to increase the length of time they could tiptoe around behind floorwalkers without being seen or heard, and to increase their ability to take risks such as shortening the distance between themselves and an unsuspecting floorwalker.)

Or we'd catch the bus over to San Francisco, and then eat and maybe go to the beach or the Zoo. We'd tell the bus driver we were going to see a sick aunt so he wouldn't get suspicious. Or, sometimes we'd go to Alameda or the Berkeley pier and fish. That's fun, to just sit there with your fishing pole, taking in the whole scene.

Sometimes we'd go down by the Alameda bridge and catch trains and hang onto them. One time we were doing that when I saw cops coming. So I said to my friend: "Run!" I ran down under the bridge where the cops couldn't see me but there was my friend, hanging on the back of the train, feet dangling, laughing his head off. The cops asked him what he was doing, and he said that he was catching rides on trains for fun. The cops said O.K., they'd let him go, but not to do it again because he could get hurt. He said he wouldn't do it anymore, and the cops left. Then we went on over to Alameda, played along the beach, and went fishing. We had fun!

Sometimes we'd go up in the Oakland hills and lie in the grass and look at the sky. Or, we'd hike around and kind of hunt,

> like. Or we'd hide in the bushes by trails when we'd hear people coming, and then, just for fun, jump out and yell "Boo!" Usually the people we'd scare would laugh too, but sometimes they'd just turn and run, and then we'd laugh. It's even more fun to jump out and scare people at night. Then, people get really scared, and almost all of them turn around and run the other way! (In response to a question): We didn't learn these things from anybody. I just thought them up myself.
>
> I've already missed 50 days of school this year because of cutting. You can only miss a few days or you might fail and have to repeat the whole year. That's why I come to school these days--I don't dare miss any more school. Also, just about two weeks ago I was really embarrassed. They told my mom about us skipping school, and so my mom brought me to school, holding me by the hand in front of all my buddies. I was red in the face in front of all my buddies because of being brought to school by my mom by the hand at my age. It was very embarrassing.

The following is another account of an adventurous trip undertaken by a high school girl who was also included in the school sample:

> Once my girlfriend X and I ran away. You really should try running away sometime. It's quite an experience--I really

recommend it. It gave us something to do. It wasn't worth it, though ... well ... yes it was! I got the day off from school, got to travel around, and we had fun.

We started in the morning and went to San Francisco. We had a ball just walking around and taking in all the sights. Then later that night we were afraid we'd get picked up by the cops, so we went to the San Francisco Bus Station and sat there for a while. Sure enough, the cops strolled by. This one cop says: "Are you girls going to take the bus?" So we go: "Yeah, we're waiting for the bus." So the cop says: "Which bus?" And X goes "The 11:45 (p m.) bus to the East Bay." So the cop goes and checks the bus schedule, and he comes back and he says, "O.K., but I'm going to make sure you're on that bus." So dumb, stupid us, we took the bus to the East Bay.

When we got to the East Bay, there were no more buses running at that hou from where the San Francisco bus gets off to where we live. So we had to walk, and we were just hoping that no cop would see us. We were crossing a street downtown when sure enough, we saw a cop car. So we started trying to cross back to the other side and pretend that we were waiting for a bus, when the cop car drove up and the cops asked us what we were doing. We said we were waiting for the bus. The cops called in on their car radio and asked if there was a bus running on that line during that hour of the night, and of course there wasn't, so the cops said to get in their car. They took us down to the Police Station and called our mothers. Our mothers started crying and so on, the whole bit. The police said they were going to take us home and X said she guessed she wanted to go home anyway because she was tired, but I said I didn't want to go home.

The cops took me home anyway. When they went inside to talk to my folks, I had to sit outside in the police car feeling really stupid. All the neighbours got excited, and my mother was crying and carrying on. Man, I really felt dumb. After a while one policeman came back out and lectured me, saying that they could have found us in the gutter, that girls who roam around like that could get raped, all that kind of thing. I wouldn't look at him and just looked at the ground. So he said: "Young lady, look at me while I'm talking to you," so I looked at him in the face. He kept on talking, and he really lectured me.

I guess it wasn't worth it to run away. I never did it again, and I wouldn't do it again. Well, I guess maybe it was worth it, that one time. It was kind of exciting. You really should try running away.

Conservatism

Regardless of adjustment to school, tribal and family backgrounds, or other variables, Indian students in the 1968-1969 school sample were "conservative" when compared to others in their schools. In contrast to many other students, the dress, hair styles, and public manners of Indians, as well as their behaviour in the presence of adults were considered "sophisticated" and "conservative" by school personnel. Several of the high school-age Indian girls and one or two of the high school-age Indian boys in the sample were extremely well-dressed. Although others in the sample had relatively few clothes, and their clothes were often inexpensive, all were well-groomed. High school students, especially girls, spent a considerable amount of time on their appearance. In addition, three of the five elementary school students in the sample were extremely "well-pressed" and thoughtfully prepared for school by their families.

The conservative appearance of Indian students contributed to their general reputation for good behaviour in school. In the late 1960's, teachers and administrators in local schools were faced with open challenges to the authority of schools and school personnel which could be expressed in a variety of ways, including clothing and hair styles. However, most Indian students in this study were not interested in challenging their schools. Instead, they were primarily concerned with family obligations and other aspects of their private lives. When asked to write essays about school (see Appendix IX), most high school students in the sample stated simply that they thought school was worthwhile, though occasionally boring, and that they would sometimes like to be relieved of classes which they disliked. Classes which they disliked varied with individual preferences. Many of these same students also said that they preferred "harder teachers who really know their subjects and make you work and learn". In addition, it was generally felt that "getting a good education" was an important goal, and that graduation from high school was necessary in order to obtain a good job. In most cases, Indian youth tended to view school as a passing phase in their lives which would lead to employment, and thus to the support of families and future children. From this perspective, coping with school was far more important than "getting into trouble" in school.

Length of residence in the city and degree of adjustment to public schools or other features of urban life were not correlated with another form of conservatism among students in the 1968-1969 school sample, or cultural "traditionalism". This was equally true for the majority of other Indians living in the Bay Area at that time. Degree of cultural conservatism or traditionalism was a personal and family choice which was not always apparent to outside observers, and which was not clearly correlated with ability to hold down jobs, succeed in school, or otherwise manage life in the city.

As an example of this , all Pueblo and Navajo students in the school sample lived in matrilineal families in the city where matrilineal kinship was intact (including the presence of fathers and other adult males). Each of these students knew and maintained traditional clan affiliations and participated in traditional religious activities where possible. Religious involvement was particularly strong among the Pueblo students as a group, but there were also Navajos in the sample who were intensively involved in traditional religious activities and the Native American Church (see the section titled "The Native American Church" in Chapter Two). In most of these cases, traditional kinship behaviour and religious activities were reinforced by frequent trips to the home reservation.

The full-blooded Choctaw student in the sample, who was fully adjusted to school and other aspects of urban life, had been born and reared among Choctaw Indians on a reservation near Philadelphia, Mississippi. She reported participation in many aspects of Choctaw "traditionalism", including a modified form of Choctaw kinship. For example, she noted that clans existed on her home reservation, but that they no longer regulated marriage. She also said that she, her father, and her siblings were all members of the same"Red Clan" (or moiety?) The term "Ina" was used for mother and father's sister, while the term "Tata" was used for father, father's brother, and mother's brother. In English, father's brother was called "Uncle", while mother's sister was called "Aunt"(cf. Eggan 1966:21).

The Plains Indian students included in the school sample were likewise involved in traditional cultural activities. Two of these were considering the inheritance of medicine bundles and associated religious responsibilities from close relatives on their home reservations. H owever, one stated that the expenses involved in managing these traditional religious responsibilities might cause reconsideration of their acceptance. Again, cultural traditionalism among students from Plains tribes and their urban families was not correlated with school performance or other aspects of adjustment to the city.

Student Relationships with their Families

The importance placed on domestic unit and extended kin relationships among Indian residents of the Bay Area was discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The present section will present further observations about the involvement of students in the 1968-1969 school sample with their urban kin.

Eighteen students in the sample, or 75 per cent had significant relationships with their mother's brothers (see Appendix X, Variable Eight). These included all six of the Pueblo students, all eight of the Navajos, and the four Plains Indian students. Whether or not these eighteen students had been born on reservations or had spent considerable amounts of time on their home reservations (either independently or in the company of urban kin), mother's brothers played important roles in their socialization. In addition, multiple mothering, or more than one (classificatory) mother continuously present in urban homes at the time of the study was reported in four cases in the sample, all of whom were members of the Pueblos. In another family represented by two Plains Indian siblings, a second classificatory mother had previously lived in the student's urban home for an extended period of time, but had returned to the reservation by the time of the study (see Appendix X, Variable Nine).

Some mention of student family responsibilities was made in Chapters Two and Three. Regardless of age or sex, all students in the school sample with significant family responsibilities reported that caring for siblings and the offspring of relatives consumed an important share of their time. Eleven of the students in the sample, or 45.8 per cent reported contributing to urban family incomes with money from their own part-time earnings. Heavy child-care responsibilities and contributions to family incomes within this random sample of urban Indian youth may have indicated that socialization regarding kinship was continuing along traditional reservation lines.

In the late 1960's, Indian children and young people on reservations associated heavily with extended family kin. Close sibling and family ties which had been initiated during infancy were perpetuated over a lifetime through reciprocal affect, obligations, and mutual cooperation. As was the case on reservations, the amount of genealogical information about extended family members which was related by students in the Bay Area schools sample (including those who had been born in the Bay Area) indicated heavy and prolonged association with extended family kin, regardless of the location of these kin (see Appendix VIII, and also Chapters Two and Three). Even where their younger capabilities were taken into account, elementary school students in the 1968-1969 school sample were as active in maintaining networks of kinship obligations and reciprocities as were high school students. These findings indicated that an emphasis on domestic unit and extended family kin was more important than many other features of urban life, and that the organization of Indian families in the city might be used to predict adjustment to urban life and institutions.

In addition to child care, both male and female students in the school sample reported substantial participation in housekeeping routines. All students who were old enough to do so maintained their own clothing and other personal effects. Girls tended to do more of the family cooking than boys, although one male high school student whose step-father worked as a professional cook during the winter had learned this skill from his step-father, and often did the family cooking. Several of the girls in the sample made clothing for themselves and other members of their families.

Boys in the sample all reported helping with household chores and errands. One Navajo high school male reported that he was learning silverworking, car mechanics, and various electrical and household skills from his father. He helped his father and friends repair their cars, and worked with his father around the house repairing cracks in plaster, fixing plumbing, and repairing appliances. Together he and his father had rewired approximately half of the family home. This same student also reported that he was teaching these skills to his nine younger brothers and sisters: "I teach them how to do things around the house--how to paint, build, and repair all kinds of things". An elementary school Navajo male reported that he "picked up around the house", made up his own bed on weekends, swept and straightened his own bedroom, and washed dishes. He had once protested that his sister should be "the one who washed dishes", but "My mother said it didn't matter who was a girl or not, because when I get married, maybe my wife will get sick, and then I'll be a sloppy father if I don't learn how to take care of things."

The corporate nature of student families was discussed the section titled "Families and Incomes" in Chapter Two. The fact that eleven of these students reported contributing to urban, and even reservation family incomes meant that they were participating in the widespread urban Indian pattern of distributing personal resources among kin (see Chapters Two and Three). Two students reported having their own savings accounts, one of these including money given to her by her tribe, "But I don't take that money out of the bank". Two other students reported that among their Indian peers, "Everybody chips in for entertainment, and we buy our own gas when we take the car". As was the case for adults in their families, gifts for Christmas, birthdays, and other events were another means used by students to distribute resources among kin. One high school girl who was probably the student in the sample with the largest amount of income to contribute to her urban family received an Aid to Dependent Children allowance, and turned all of this over to her mother for redistribution within the domestic unit. Another student in the sample who was enrolled in a training program for Nurse's Aides with a specialty in Geriatrics received a small allowance, as well as training equipment including uniforms and a nursing watch through that program.

As examples of pride in their ability to earn money which could be contributed to supporting themselves and their families, several students volunteered information about employment. Two high school students in the sample reported that they had worked for the National Youth Corps performing odd jobs around their home reservations during the summer. One Pueblo male had worked as an emergency forest fire fighter in another state. Another high school male reported that he had worked for the National Youth Corps as a gardener in the Bay Area, and that at various times he had maintained a paper route, worked weekends as a farm labourer in San Jose, and held a job as a gardener "for a lady". One high school male had worked as a ticket-taker at a movie theatre in the evenings, and while so employed sent all of his earnings, except for a little money for bus fare and other necessities, back to kin on his home reservation. One high school girl in the sample was working for an hourly wage as a cleaning woman in a private home on Saturdays, and expressed a desire to obtain a regular part-time job after school as soon as possible. Another high school girl in the sample began working as a summer repair and maintenance janitor at her East Bay high school as soon as school ended for the year. Most of the high school girls in the sample babysat for people outside their families, and sometimes for kin for pay. In cases where kin paid for babysitting, there were indications that such payment was a subtle way of redistributing additional money without embarrassment among kin who had already been the recipients of substantial remittances. Five students in the sample reported working at one time or another on projects for pay at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. Two high school students enquired if I knew of any odd jobs available "at the University, or through your friends" (e.g. housecleaning, babysitting, yardwork, and the like).

The Adjusted Group

Fifteen students in the 1968-1969 East Bay public schools sample, or 62.5 per cent were adjusted to school and performing well in school at the time of this study (see Appendix X, and the section titled "Criteria for School Adjustment" in this chapter). All eleven high school seniors in the sample graduated at the end of the 1968-1969 school year, and three of these entered college in the fall of 1969. At least one other student in the sample graduated the following year in June of 1970 and entered university in the fall of 1970.

General social characteristics of students in the adjusted group and their families were discussed in the first three chapters, as well as in the first part of the present chapter. Again, the only significant and consistent difference between the fifteen students in the study who were adjusted to school, and the remaining nine students, six of whom were partially-adjusted to school, and three of whom were unadjusted to school, was family organization (see Variables Number One through Six, Ten, and Eleven in Appendix X). Where families were stable and there was an effective social or biological father present in an urban home, then students were adjusted to both school and city life in general. Students from stable families got better marks than other students, were not usually truant, and had few, if any, disciplinary actions by schools noted on their records. However, Variable Number Four in Appendix X shows two students in the adjusted group without fathers in their urban homes. In the case of subject Number Twelve, the father was deceased at the time of the study. Until his death he had been an extremely competent wage-earner and parent, and was active in the Bay Area Indian community. Subject Number Fourteen was living with a step-sister in the Bay Area, but had been reared from about the age of four until the tenth grade by a competent two-parent family in Los Angeles. During Grade Ten this student decided to move to the Bay Area, and there was some indication that the step-sister requested this move in order to have company and help at home while she worked full-time.

Subject Number Fourteen was also interesting from the standpoint of intelligence, having been identified through extensive testing in elementary school as educable mentally retarded. Nevertheless, this student maintained a low "C" average throughout high school, graduated on schedule, and was being trained during the 1968-1969 school year as a Nurse's Aid with a specialty in Geriatrics through a night program recommended by the Oakland Public Schools. School personnel noted that the student had an extremely pleasant personality, and had always been liked by everyone. Comments on records since elementary school consistently read "likeable", and "well-liked and accepted by peers". The student's health, speech, and physical coordination were excellent. Indications of handicaps during interviews were slight, including only a short attention span, and poor writing, where the order of letters was sometimes reversed and there were other minor perceptual errors. In addition, school records noted "immaturity" relative to chronological age throughout all grades, and there was some indication of lower ability to verbalize genealogical relationships when compared to others in the sample. Finally, according to notes on high school records, this student had a short emotional attention span and was occasionally goaded into fights (hence, the "c" or "seldom" frequency for school discipline under Variable Number Three in Appendix X). One note regarding an eleventh grade fight read:

> X and Y started arguing in class. Couldn't get a straight story. They were ready to trade punches, but I stopped this. At the bell, both went outside the classroom and started slugging one another. Z may have goaded them into fighting again outside of class, as Z was all smiles when X and Y left the room.

The one other "extreme" intelligence score in the sample, or an IQ of about 150 also belonged to a student in the adjusted group. Once again the student's family was well-organized, and family organization rather than intelligence was the major variable determining adjustment to school. Although this individual's marks were a high "B+" average, they were not the highest marks in the sample (the highest marks in the sample were represented by an "A-" average held by another member of the adjusted group). Finally, this student's father had always stressed education, even to the point of attending night school in order to help one of his children with junior high school math. Eventually all children in the family enrolled in university.

Other cases in the adjusted group deserve special mention in order to explain variations in traits. First, note that Variables Number Two and Three in Appendix X show marked differences in rates of attendance and disciplinary action by schools between members of the adjusted, partially-adjusted, and unadjusted groups. Note also that with the exception of Subjects Number Fourteen, Eighteen, Nineteen, and Twenty-two, traits listed under Variables Number Two and Three are almost identical for students in the adjusted group. In addition, traits listed under Variables Number Four through Six are again almost identical for the adjusted group. This is not the case for the partially-adjusted and unadjusted groups, where individuals show considerable variation in these traits.

Three students in the adjusted group, or Subjects Number Eighteen, Nineteen, and Twenty-two show variation from the others in rates of school attendance. Subject Number Eighteen in the adjusted group was a high school girl with a record of fair school attendance because she often stayed home from school in order to help the older sister with whom she was living, since both the sister and the sister's husband worked full-time. If the sister was ill, or if emergency shifts at the welding firm where her husband worked demanded that he work during the day, the student remained at home in order to care for the couple's small children. Although she missed more school than many others in the adjusted group, these were excused absences rather than truancies, and they were not disciplined by her school. Moreover, this girl's grades remained satisfactory.

Subjects Number Nineteen and Twenty-two in the adjusted group represented absences and discipline by schools for these absences which were not related to family problems. In both of these cases, the students were members of secure, organized families, and their absences from school were not correlated with school performance. Subject Number Nineteen (see the section titled "Weighing the Criteria: Truancy" in this chapter for more information on this individual) continued to maintain a strong "B+" grade average in high school, while Subject Number Twenty-two maintained a strong "S+" average, and was consistently rated by teachers at her elementary school as a "superior reader and fine worker". This latter case represented a very interesting adjustment to the possible stresses of city life for one urban Indian child.

Subject Number Twenty-two was a Pueblo child with a two-year record of truancy by the time of this study. Her record for the 1968-1969 school year stated:

> X is a very smart girl. Her work is good, especially in reading, and she is always trying to learn. She should try to come to school every day, and not fight with other children.

Teachers stated that despite all efforts on the part of her family to send her to school, this girl frequently refused to come to school. However, although her attendance was poor, her school work remained good, she was a keen reader, and her teacher regarded her as "adjusted to school". At one point during the previous year she had run away from home on several occasions. In an effort to keep her from running away, her mother had hidden her shoes, but this tactic did not work for long, as the child continued to run away. Once during the previous school year she had run away from home for an entire week, and was finally located by her mother in a garage without her shoes.

Upon interviewing this student I learned that she liked school, liked her teachers, and loved to read. However, she earnestly felt that it was important to stay home from school "so I can help my mother". Then, she ventured: "Its too crowded at school. Those Black kids take my chain when we play hopscotch, and they run off with it". Further probing revealed that she was being bullied by Blacks at her school who had discovered that she would withdraw rather than compete or fight back on the school playground. Although she had been born in the East Bay, this child had been reared with normal Pueblo values, and Pueblo training had not prepared her for urban street fighting. In line with her own, very different values, she withdrew from competition whenever challenged on the street or on the school playground. However, the more she withdrew, the more persistently she was harassed by competitors of about the same age. Eventually this girl had concluded that staying away from school altogether, and sometimes from her home, which was located just across the street from the school, was the only realistic solution to the problem of being bullied.

At this point I intervened. I first asked the child's teacher if we could visit the mother and enquire about the child's problem with Blacks. The teacher, who was very interested in the child, agreed. We then went to see the mother at home during the teacher's lunch hour. The child, who was truant once again that day, peered at us from a front window of her home as we crossed the street, and then disappeared from view as we approached the front door. The mother was very cordial, and confirmed that although she had tried her best, she could not make her daughter attend school because of the harassment by Black children. The teacher and I stated that this matter could be referred to the Vice-Principal, and that if the child would come to school, something could be done about the harassment. The child then agreed to come to school, and returned to class with her teacher. Later that same day, the Vice-Principal called the Pueblo girl down to her office, obtained the names of the three little Black girls who were initiating most of the harassment, and organized a group conference with all four children. During the conference, the little Black girls were instructed to stop bullying others on the playground, and were asked to apologize (at which point they all burst into tears), while the little Pueblo girl was instructed to report any future harassment to her teacher or to the Vice-Principal rather than missing school, and to attend school on a regular basis. Throughout the conference, the Pueblo girl looked silently at the floor, standing completely still and registering no expression of emotion, even when the other children began to cry. Follow-up information indicated that the conference had improved matters, and that the Pueblo girl began attending school on a regular basis, at least for the remainder of that year.

It should be noted that in Pueblo culture, children who are members of organized families are very carefully controlled, that public aggression is negatively sanctioned, and that any adults who are present when a dispute breaks out are expected to arbitrate disputes between children without being asked to do so. Under normal circumstances, constant observation and vigilance over the behaviour of children by an entire community ensures relative peace and quiet. In Pueblo culture, no child should have to *ask* for protection by kin or other adults in case of difficulty, since measures to control and protect children go into effect automatically and almost immediately whenever they are needed. In addition, Pueblo Indians who lose control to the point of public aggression can be ridiculed and otherwise shamed by kin. In this light, any lone Pueblo child would probably have behaved just as this child behaved in order to call attention to her situation and escape the dilemma of being caught between opposing values. But in addition to the behaviour of Pueblo Indians in the city, this case further illustrates the structural closeness of many Indian families, the expectation that members of families will function as participants in a family group rather than as individuals, and part of the reason why the impairment of normal kinship behaviour and expectations within Indian families often leads to the personal disorganization of individuals. Though the child in this example was a Pueblo Indian, features of kinship organization such as the control and defense of individual kin by entire family groups are not limited to the Pueblos. With some allowance for variations in style, this behaviour is common to many Indian groups, and in fact exists cross-culturally wherever family ties are strong.

The Partially-Adjusted Group

Six students in the 1968-1969 school sample demonstrated a partial level of adjustment to school. In each of these cases, the students had problems with one of the necessary criteria for school adjustment (e.g. regular school attendance), which had in turn led to recorded disciplinary action by their schools. But despite truancy and resulting discipline by their schools, all students in the partially-adjusted group maintained grade averages of at least a "C-" (see Appendix X). In two of these cases, the students each had one sibling in the unadjusted group. However, although living in the same family situation, the two students in the partially-adjusted group were not responding to family tensions to the same degree as siblings in the unadjusted group (though both had responded as severely in the past), and were thus better able to concentrate on school work and to maintain satisfactory marks. And, although recorded as having poor attendance, the two partially-adjusted students were not missing as much school as their unadjusted siblings.

All families of the six students in the partially-adjusted group showed some degree of tension or strain. However, except for the two families of students where there were also siblings in the unadjusted group, this tension was mild in comparison to families of students in the unadjusted group. In all six cases in the partially-adjusted group, the original fathers of the students were no longer present in urban homes. Three, or fifty per cent of these six families had no fathers in urban homes, two had step-fathers living in urban homes, and the remaining family had a brother-in-law living in the urban home. In the latter case, previous to moving to the Bay Area the student had been reared in a reservation household where there were multiple mothers (MoSi's and MoMo) following the death of both biological parents.

The three students in the sample who had offspring were all members of the partially-adjusted group. One of these was a girl who had kept her child at home and continued with school, missing almost no school and graduating on schedule. Nevertheless, this student's high school record reflected a transitional period including emotional turmoil after the separation of her parents and threatened legal action by her school for extreme truancy. Another girl in the partially-adjusted group had given her child up for adoption and had likewise returned to school with a minimum of interruption. In both of these cases, there had been earlier crisis periods during the previous school year involving truancy and failing marks which had then improved dramatically following childbirth. Significantly, both of these pregnancies were probably influenced by lack of adult supervision during family crises. In contrast, discussions of this topic with girls in the adjusted group revealed the same family patterns for supervising adolescent girls which are seen in many other ethnic groups. In one case, the father of a Plains Indian girl carefully chaperoned his daughters, escorting them to and from all-Indian rock and roll dances and other events until they were well into their teens. In another case, where parents supervised an adjusted high school girl closely, the girl volunteered information that she was determined to avoid "running around and disappointing my parents".

The male student in the partially-adjusted group who had a child (which had been left with relatives on the home reservation) had also been lacking in effective adult supervision during much of his adolescent life:

> My father was never home, and that's why we were all so wild. We had a lot more freedom than my cousin X, who never gets to do anything because his family watches him all the time.

As was the case for the two girls in the partially-adjusted group with offspring, the elementary school child in the partially-adjusted group had previously shown emotional turmoil and severe truancy after his parents began fighting. Then, as soon as his father left home, this child's school behaviour improved considerably. At one point during his emotional turmoil he had alternated between fighting with other children and withdrawal. Concerned school personnel finally referred him to a physician for tests to determine possible brain or central nervous system damage, but the physician's report stated that the child was physically normal, and that his behaviour was probably due to emotional turmoil. It is likely that if this child had been observed two years earlier when his father was still living at home, he would have been placed in the unadjusted group.

In all cases in the partially-adjusted group, as well as all cases in the unadjusted group, the students' continued enrolment in school reflected sophistication and skill on the part of their Bay Area schools. Had these same students been enrolled in reservation or boarding schools, where the facilities were often not as good as those of schools in large metropolitan areas, it is likely that at least half of partially-adjusted group and all of the unadjusted group would no longer have been in school. Furthermore, the three high school seniors in the partially-adjusted group, all of whom graduated at the end of the 1968-1969 school year, might never have finished school. In two of these cases this was probable, and in the third case, certain. In the third case the student had previously dropped out of his reservation high school, but later enrolled in an East Bay high school and succeeded in graduating at the end of the year only because pressure from kin had convinced him to come to the city, live with relatives, and continue with high school until he graduated. Unfortunately, since there were no high school seniors in the unadjusted group, it was not possible to compare rates of graduation from high school for the unadjusted group with rates of graduation for the other two groups.

As a further comment on the apparently better quality of Bay Area schools, and the effect this had on students in the 1968-1969 school sample, a high school senior in the adjusted group volunteered the following statement:

> Teachers at my reservation high school were not happy with their jobs. All of the teachers were white, except for one Indian person. So I left there in the

> summer two years ago in order to come out here, live with my sister, and go to high school in the city. I'm glad to be here. I learn more here, and I get better grades. Back home they usually gave me straight "D's", except for one "B" once in a while. (Although not completely fluent in English, this student had consistently maintained a strong "C" average in her East Bay high school.)

The Unadjusted Group

Three students in the 1968-1969 East Bay public schools sample, including two high school students and one elementary school student, were clearly unadjusted to school. Each of the three unadjusted students was a different age, and each came from a different tribal background. Although each had younger siblings who were born in the Bay Area, all had been born on their home reservations. In addition, all were from families who had been relocated to the Bay Area through BIA relocation programs, although the family of one student in the unadjusted group had first moved on their own initiative from their home reservation to a large city in another state, returned briefly to the reservation, and then applied for, and received BIA relocation to the Bay Area.

All students in the unadjusted group were very young when their families arrived in the Bay Area. In two of these cases, the families had been relocated early in the process of BIA urban relocation programs during 1957 and 1958. The family of the third student had been relocated in 1960.

A comparison of dates of relocation to the Bay Area for families of students in the unadjusted group with dates of relocation for most of the families of students in the adjusted and partially-adjusted groups revealed an interesting tendency for the only genuinely disorganized families in the sample to have been relocated to the Bay Area earlier than other families, and during the first stages of BIA relocation programs. It therefore may have been possible that during the early stages of BIA relocation programs, some of the people who were willing to experiment with these programs before they had become fully established were people who were already having difficulties on the reservation (cf. Ablon 1964:298). Such families or individuals may then have tended to transfer existing problems to the city when they moved. Further background information on the families of unadjusted students in the sample indicated that these families did in fact have long-standing personal problems which existed when they lived on their home reservations.

By contrast, most families of students in the adjusted and partially-adjusted groups who had relocated to the Bay Area through BIA programs had arrived later on in the history of these programs, had relocated for positive reasons, and did not appear to have had severe personal problems on their home reservations. Most of these families had come to the city in order to obtain better jobs (although the parents were not necessarily unemployed on their home reservations). Finally, most of the adjusted and partially-adjusted students visited relatives on home reservations at every possible opportunity. By contrast, two students in the unadjusted group had weak or non-existent ties with home reservation kin, including one case where the student had no organized, closely-related kin on the home reservation upon whom he could depend.

Major indications of a lack of adjustment to school for the three unadjusted students in the 1968-1969 sample were truancy records, frequent recorded disciplinary actions by their schools, and near-failing grade averages. All three unadjusted students had also been in contact with urban courts, two of these including time spent in Juvenile Hall or detention homes. In the case of the unadjusted high school girl, referral to Juvenile Hall was due to severe truancy. In the case of the unadjusted elementary school boy, authorities had finally placed him in a home for younger delinquent boys known as "the cottage" as a result of his impressive truancy record earlier in the 1968-1969 school year. The third unadjusted student, a high school male, had been arrested for drugs and was taking drugs at the time of the study. Earlier that year he had been rushed to the hospital after collapsing in school as a result of an overdose. At times he reported for interviews or testing in an obvious state of intoxication.

In all cases in the unadjusted group, severe family disorganization was the only variable which could consistently be correlated with emotional health, attitudes, and school performance. In two cases in the unadjusted group, no fathers were present in student homes. In one of these cases, the mother was incompetent and urban authorities had eventually placed all children in the family, some of whom had inherited a hormonal defect, in foster homes. At the time of this study, the student in question, who was the oldest of his siblings, was living in an East Bay Boys' Home under the care of a male guardian appointed by the Courts. In the third case, a rather unsatisfactory step-father was present in the mother's home, and the student moved back and forth between the residences of the mother/step-father and father. In the process of shifting between homes, she was able to compile an impressive truancy record since neither parent could keep track of her movements.

In two cases in the unadjusted group, long-term school records indicated reasonable school behaviour and adjustment while the students' parents were together, and then an abrupt change in behaviour, attitudes, and adjustment to school (including failing marks) as soon as families began to disintegrate through serious parental fighting. In addition, in both of these families there were siblings of the unadjusted students who were at one time similarly affected with respect to truancy and marks; but by the second half of the 1968-1969 school year, both siblings had made sufficient personal recoveries to bring failing marks up to a "C" (or in the case of elementary school, "Satisfactory") average. In one of these cases there was some improvement in the school behaviour of a younger sibling almost as soon as the father left home.

The unadjusted elementary school student described his family and his personal feelings:

> My father went to an Indian Boarding School until the Eleventh Grade. Then, when he was 16 or 17, he joined the Marines. When I grow up, I'm joining the Navy. My father said to "marry" the Marines, because they'll make a man out of

you, but I said no, because I might get shot in a war.

My father met my mother before he went to fight in the war. That was a real rough war. When he was drunk, my father used to cry at night about the war. He'd say: "I'd be holding that machine gun like this," and he'd stand up on the couch and show us. "They killed my friend and threw his body away, just like he was an animal." Then my father would cry.

My father used to work, but he got a bad back, and he had to have an operation for that. He was an alcoholic, and he still drinks too much. It was six years ago that he got the bad back and had to quit his job. He tried to look for another job, but couldn't find one. After that, every time he went to look for a job, he'd come home drunk. Couldn't get no job, and that's why my mother divorced him. He went to a lot of bars, and he got drunk every day. He used to get the welfare money, drink it all up, and forget to come home. The cops would pick him up and throw him in jail. He was in jail a lot then.

My father used to sing at Pow Wows, and go to the Indian Church (Native American Church). When he had a good job, he bought me a tricycle.

Last year my father's family decided that he should come back home, so they came and got him. Just before Christmas, my father's brother came out here to get him and took him home.

> Here in the city, you just find liquor everywhere. Back home, my father's family can keep him from having any. It's harder to get liquor back home.
>
> I used to cry all the time about my dad, but I don't anymore. I don't worry about him so much now that he's back on the reservation with his family. I don't know what he does these days, though.

This same student also described his home life at the time of the study:

> I was late to school today. I've been late to school for the past week. My mother doesn't cook us breakfast on time, which is why I'm late a lot. Also, sometimes I go to bed late. A lot of times I just stay up late and watch television.
>
> Last night I stayed outside until 8:00 p.m. Then I came inside, fooled around, and all of a sudden it was 9:00 o'clock. Then I coloured in my sister's colouring book, and all of a sudden it was 10:00 o'clock. I looked at the clock, and said: "Wow!" to myself. Then I took a bath, and when I looked at the clock, it was already 11:00 o'clock. Wow again! So I didn't get to bed until 11:00 o'clock. Because of that I overslept this morning until 8:00 o'clock. I got up, combed my hair, got dressed, my mom cooked breakfast late, and I ate breakfast. By the time I left for school it was 8:40 in the morning. I was going to turn around and go back

> home, because I was afraid my teacher might yell at me and ask me why I was late. I don't like being yelled at in front of other people, because I get scared when that happens, so I wasn't going to go to school. But I did come to school after all, and the teacher didn't yell at me. I was glad.

Later, the student described his attempts to gain attention and recognition by relating to street children (although this student was not a Pueblo Indian, compare his behaviour with the behaviour of the Pueblo child described in the section titled "The Adjusted Group" in this chapter):

> Friday I was going to meet another boy in the alley, and we were going to fight, but I was late because I was in here (being interviewed).
>
> They all told me that I was chicken, that I said I'd fight that boy, and then I didn't do it. Those are all Blacks. I told them I was in here, but they didn't believe me. So I said: "O.K., let's fight!" and I fought that boy. First he hit me in the mouth, and then I ducked. Then I hit him, and he hit me (demonstration, complete with verbal sound effects). Then I hit him in the mouth, and he fell down. The other kids were all standing around, watching, and when that happened they said: "O.K., that's enough! You should stop now." After the fight, that boy and I became real good friends. We played together yesterday.

> (Question: "What would happen if you didn't fight? Do you really have to fight?") Yes, I have to fight. You see, if I didn't fight, then I wouldn't have any friends, and none of the kids in my neighbourhood would play with me. They'd say I'm a chicken. Bullies would try to beat me up, because if they knew I wouldn't fight back, then they could beat me. If you're tough, and not afraid of anybody, then those bullies leave you alone and don't bother you. Everybody likes you if you're tough. You have a lot of friends, and they say you're O.K.
>
> (Question: "Is there any way for you to avoid fighting?") Nope, no way, unless I want to be a chicken and not have any friends.
>
> (Question: "Are there any kids in your neighbourhood who don't fight?") Yeah, there's one boy, or used to be one boy who didn't fight. Me and him used to play together a lot. He was white. But he moved away, and I don't ever see him anymore, so I just play with the Blacks.

At one time this boy's peers had included a young Indian boy, who although not a member of the school sample, came from a similar family situation:

> That's what my friend X is, a burglar! (a subteen Indian male also from a family in the same general neighbourhood, where there was no father in the home, and the mother was receiving welfare). I was a burglar, too. My family used to live in a housing development. In the housing development I met a coloured boy who was in the Ninth Grade. I was seven. That boy taught

me how to steal, and we used to go steal in houses. (Question: "Where did the boy learn how to steal? From other kids?") Shoot, he learned that all by himself! He was real smart!

One time we broke into a house in the daytime. It was summertime, so we weren't playing hookey from school or nothing like that. My friend, he took a screwdriver and a piece of plastic to cut the sound, made a hole in the window, and reached in to turn the lock. Then we went in through the window and looked around and through everything. We found a $5.00 bill under the bed, and some jewellery. We looked in the refrigerator, took some food, and made sandwiches because we were hungry. I saw some Coke, so we drank some Coke, and I took some extra cans of Coke with us. Then we were looking around for more to do, when we saw a room full of toys. I liked a big model plane I saw in that room, so I took it and put it in a sack.

All of a sudden my friend said: "Here come the people who own the house!" We ran out the back door fast, just in time, just as the people were putting their key in the front door. I was real scared when my friend said those people were coming. But they never did catch us. We jumped over their fence, and then another fence, and another fence, and another fence. But there was a big old bulldog in that yard, so we jumped back over the fence and over another one instead. Finally, we got away. When I got home, I just stayed inside and watched T.V. I stayed inside the whole next day too, and didn't go nowhere at all.

My friend, the coloured boy, taught me how to steal in stores. We used to go down to the Shopping Centre and steal things, anything we could steal. Usually we'd keep what we stole for ourselves, but sometimes we'd go door to door and sell it. One time my friend stole a watch, and he sold it for $2.00. I told him: "You're a fool, man. That was a waterproof watch, and you sold it for only $2.00." So my friend went out and stole another watch to sell, but he decided to keep it for himself.

Sometimes we'd steal food because we were hungry. (Question: "Did you have enough food at home?") There was enough food at home. But you see, we'd take off and be gone for a week at a time, and we'd sleep up in the hills and stuff.

We'd run from the cops--it's easy to run from the cops. They never caught us. I can always get away from the cops, and I can always get around the cops. Like, one time I was mad at a kid in my neighbourhood who stole a quarter from me, so I just broke a window in a house. Not his house, just a house I was walking by because I was mad. Then I saw some cops coming, so I ran around the house and came out the other side. I said: "Did you hear that? Who broke that window?" The cops were looking around. Then I said: "I know who did it. I saw that kid over there do it!" So one policeman grabbed that little boy by the arm, and the little boy said: "I didn't do nuthin', I didn't do nuthin'!" But the cop said: "Oh yes you did!" I just cracked up, man, I just really cracked up (laughed). When I got home, I was still cracking up.

Later we moved to this neighbourhood where I live now, and I met X. X showed me how to cut school. We'd go to a department store and look around, maybe steal a few little things. Then we'd go to a food store and steal some ice cream, potato chips, and a pickle. Then we'd go sit in a park, and eat what we'd stolen for lunch.

One day X took a big rock and killed a baby duck at Lake Merritt. I buried the duck. Another day he and I were in Montgomery Ward's, stealing, when a store man caught us. X has been down to Juvenile Hall five times already, I think. Anyway, this man caught X and me, but I didn't have nothing on me. I said: "I don't have nuthin' on me, I didn't steal nuthin'!" Then X picked up a hammer and was going to hit that big man on the head, but I told him not to. "Don't do that," I said, "You'll just get in worse trouble if you do that." So X said: "O.K.," and put the hammer down. Then that man let me go, and I went on home, and I stayed home. But they kept X and took him down to Juvenile Hall. I've never been down to Juvenile Hall, because I've never been caught for stealing where they could make me go.

(Question: "Did you admire X and want to imitate him?") I used to admire X and want to imitate him and do what he said, but I found out I was going to flunk school for cutting, so I quit doing that. My teacher got really mad at me for cutting. And my mother made me quit hanging around with X because he was a bad influence. I got way behind in my work, and my teacher would yell: "Where's your note?" and all that (the student's teacher for that year remarked that his empty work folder was

> due to the fact that he had not been in school for one complete week without cuts all year).
>
> Hanging around with X really messed me up. I'd already flunked one grade (Grade Two), and I didn't want to flunk again. X doesn't live with his foster parents anymore, and his mother doesn't want him. He stays away from home a lot. Stays overnight with friends. Sleeps in garages and in the grass in the hills. Rides his bike all over. When he's hungry, he steals food. He doesn't go to school because he doesn't like school. Nobody can catch him because he runs so fast. He's already sixteen.
>
> I don't steal no more, though. I got caught one time, and then I got scared. I was in a store trying to steal some caps, and the store man said to me: "What do you think you're doing, son?" I said: "Oh, I didn't mean to, I'll never do it again!" He let me go, and I've never stolen anything since.

The unadjusted high school male in the sample described his emotions and his attitudes towards school:

> I'm confused. I would like to blow up the world, and hope that in the instant after that, it could be as happy as it should be, everybody doing their own thing, everybody happy. I want everybody to be happy. I want everybody to like each other, and to be tolerant of each other. But it will never be like that. The world . . . people . . . will always be as they

have been, I guess. People just can't accept change. They resist it. We Indians have certain old habits which we keep because that's what we're used to. I feel old, so old (the student was eighteen).

I want to be an accountant. My grades in high school are bad, and that's because I never did any of the work. I think if I could just convince myself to do the work, I could do it, and then I would do much better in school.

I could take school or leave it. I guess I'll go to college. I'll probably end up going. I know the need to go, I know it, I know these things, but I just don't feel them. Before I can really get going, I have to feel something first. I know I want to be able to feel responsible for other people . . . say, if I ever get married, but I just can't feel that now.

I don't know if I'll pass this year. I have only two and one-half credits towards graduation because I flunked most of my courses this year and last year. Last year was my first year in high school, the Tenth Grade, and I passed only two and one-half credits. So I'm taking the Tenth Grade over, but so far I've gotten mostly F's. I don't know why, but I just can't study. I just don't study. I can study if I want to--I can study and concentrate anywhere. But I just don't do it. I just mess around, get high (on drugs), and stuff like that.

Another thing is that if I was responsible for other people, a family, and I tried to make it, tried to be a success, I might fail. Then I'd not only be failing myself, but all of those other people too, and that would be much worse (note that in this case, both the mother and father were judged "incompetent" by public authorities. The father had deserted the home nine years earlier in 1960, and in 1968, the student's six younger siblings had been taken away from the mother and placed in foster homes).

I used to drink a lot. Now I just get high. I'm on parole. My first caper that I got caught for was stealing hub caps. Then I got caught for sniffing glue. I was just walking along the streets high and I got picked up. I was sent to a youth center, and later I was out on probation. Then I kept at it, and the next time I was picked up, I was sent to jail. I've done time, man. I admit it, because I don't see any sense in lying about it. Now I'm on parole, and I go see my Probation Officer every three or four months.

Last Fall I went back to my reservation to find myself, to get away from all this hassle, but I didn't find myself, so I came back here after a month. I just asked my Probation Officer if I could go back to the reservation, and they said yes.

I know that getting high is stupid and bad for my body and all that, but at the time I

> started doing it, I thought I was enjoying it, and that it was pleasurable. So, I just kept doing it. Now I'm trying to get away from that, trying not to get high so often. But I'll probably keep doing it, maybe once in a while, every two or three years. I'll get high again, all the rest of my life.

Peer Groups

Sixteen students in the 1968-1969 Bay Area public schools sample, or 66.7 per cent reported significant Indian peer groups (see Variable Number Twenty-seven in Appendix X). In many cases these were either groups of relatives, or included relatives. Thirteen of the students, or 54.2 per cent reported significant non-Indian peers (see Variable Number Twenty-eight in Appendix X). In most of these cases, non-Indian peers were individuals rather than groups of friends. Eight students, or 33.3 per cent reported both Indian and non-Indian peers, although the number of Indian peers (including relatives) was consistently higher. Only five students in the sample, or 20.8 per cent reported non-Indian peers and no significant Indian peers. Included in these five were the Choctaw-Afro-American and the Cherokee-Caucasian. Also included in the five was a high school girl whose parents had died, and who had subsequently moved to the

Bay Area at the request of an older sister who needed help at home while she worked. Two years after moving to the Bay Area, the girl had given birth to a child which she had released for adoption. At the time of the 1968-1969 study, she was still in the process of adjusting to these recent events, and said that her peers were Chicanos. Finally, both high school students in the unadjusted group, one of whom was living in a Boys' Home, were among the five who reported non-Indian peers, but no significant Indian peers.

Three students in the 1968-1969 public schools sample, all of whom were high school girls, reported an absence of adolescent peers. Each of these girls also said that all free time outside of school was spent with kin. In one case, the girl had a young infant at home to care for after school hours. In another case, the girl was engaged to a former reservation schoolmate who was stationed in the armed forces overseas at the time of the study, and spent all free time outside of school hours helping the sister with whom she was living with the sister's small children while the sister worked full-time. In the third case, yet another girl spent almost all free time outside of school hours helping the sister and brother-in-law with whom she was living, both of whom worked full-time, care for their young children. It is likely that in the third case, the student developed a significant Indian peer group after a longer period of residence in the Bay Area. At the time of the study she had only been living in the Bay Area for about seven months, or since the beginning of school in September of 1968. When interviewed, she said that her major social activities outside of her home life were attending all-Indian rock and roll dances in San Francisco, as well as dances at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland in the company of her brother-in-law's sister: "My brother-in-law's sister does everything I do."

Peer group activities among the twenty-four Indian students included in the school sample were not directly correlated with school performance. In the case of the two unadjusted high school students, both of whom reported non-Indian peers but no Indian peers, disruptive peer group antics tended to be the result of family strain rather than a direct cause of problems in school.

Significantly, peer group activities for all students included in the public schools sample tended to be of a different quality than those described in some studies of reservation adolescents. Although several students in the sample said that when given the choice, they preferred the company of other Indians to non-Indians, peer group activities were generally undertaken for recreation rather than for the expression of rebellion or the management of adults. Compare this with Wax, Wax, and Holy Rock (1964), where peer group activities on one reservation served other functions in addition to recreation, including the control of teachers in the reservation school. Nevertheless, the Waxes' observation that many Indian adolescents enjoyed exciting recreation, and often concealed the extent of this recreation from adults and managed its limits so that it did not interfere with school performance and other responsibilities, was also true for many students in the 1968-1969 East Bay public schools sample. On the whole, students in the sample who were classified as adjusted were as interested in exciting recreation as any others, but tended to control exciting activities more carefully than students in either the partially-adjusted or unadjusted groups. The organized nature of their families, including the certainty of adult sanctions in case of "slip-ups", caused most students in the adjusted group to be extremely cautious about the limits of exciting peer group recreation.

One student in the adjusted group explained her preference for the company of Indian peers:

> I never participate in anything at school. You know, white kids are no fun for me. They don't talk about anything. Everything they talk about is pure nonsense: it doesn't make sense. They're too . . . aggressive, I guess you'd say. More civilized, too. I don't know what I mean by civilized, just that their thoughts are different from mine. I can really only have fun with other Indians.

Another student in the adjusted group with excellent marks, who later attended university, described "Indian fun".

> I never have any fun in school. I only have fun when I go out with my Indian friends, when I go to the Friendship House, when I'm with my family, and when we go back to the reservation. I really love going back to the "Res.", because it's so much fun. I love being home with all the family and having fun. Here at school, I never have any fun (in the company of non-Indians).
>
> I really wanted to go to an Indian boarding school. I wanted to have fun. That's what I wanted to do, have fun. It's not my parents', the school's, or anybody's fault, or anything like that. It's just that I want to hang around with Indian kids, because Indian fun is more fun that any other kind of fun. I want to have lots of fun. If I can't be

> around other Indians once in a while, I just die. Indian fun is really the only kind of fun there is.
>
> I want to go back to the Res. and raise some hell. If you have a car, you can really raise hell. But I don't know anybody much--kids--with access to cars. Only one kid I know of on the "Res." has a car. You know something? People are poor and all that on my reservation, but it's fun. I really like it there, because I always have fun.

Another student in the sample described weekend fun with urban Indian peers:

> We all went to the Indian Centre Saturday night. Our two best Indian girlfriends, a cousin of our two best girlfriends, my sister, and I went in my parents' car. We sat out in the parking lot at the Centre, drinking beer and having a good time.
>
> Finally I went in to use the bathroom at the Centre. Really, the only reason I paid my way into the dance was so that I could use the bathroom. Inside, a guy asked me to dance. So I danced a couple of dances with him, and then he said: "Let's go up and request a song from the band." But he was pulling me too fast by the hand, and I fell flat on my fanny. Man, was I ever embarrassed! The band was laughing, and I could hear snickers all around me. I didn't want to look up,

because then I would have to see all those people laughing at me. So I said, well, I guessed I had to go, and I left.

The person who drives never drinks in our group. We take turns driving so everybody can at least drink sometimes.

We left when the dance ended at one a.m. By that time we had to practically carry my sister's boyfriend and one of my girlfriend's down the stairs at the Centre. When we finally got to the car, my girlfriend's boyfriend passed out, which meant that we couldn't ask him his address so we could take him home. So we drove around, and drove, and drove, and drove, hoping that he would wake up, but he didn't. Finally we just took the two extra guys who were with us back to the Indian Centre, dropped them off, and asked people who were still hanging around the parking lot if anyone knew where my girlfriend's boyfriend lived. Nobody knew, so we decided to take him back with us and let him sleep it off at a friend's house. But, by the time we finally arrived at the friend's house, it was so late that we decided not to bother our friends and to take the guy back to our house. First, we let our two girlfriends off at their house, and then we went home. We left the guy in the car and covered him with some coats. My sister got up at six in the morning on Sunday and woke this guy up and made him tell her his address. Then she took him home, and was back at our house by 7:30 a.m. The first thing she did was clean up the car. Naturally we always clean up the car and leave it spotless. My parents would kill us if they ever found beer cans.

Later Sunday afternoon our two girlfriends called us up and asked us if we wanted to go into downtown Oakland, and we said: "Yeah, sure." I had a hangover, and my sister was just bleh, you know, from no sleep, but we went anyway. We had a good time.

Later that evening after we got back two guys called us up and asked us if we wanted to ride around with them in their car. Naturally we said O.K. When we got back again, we realized that my sister had left her key inside the house, and we had to go call up my mom, who was at some friend's. My mom and her husband then had to come back to the house and give us the key. We told her we got home at 11:00, but of course it was really much later. I guess we sort of took advantage of my mom by telling her that we got home earlier.

Because of all this over the weekend I'm dead tired today. I woke up at 8:00 a.m., and was late for school. I also have a headache and can't even think very well. But I like to be with people and go out and things like that. I just can't read books or write letters and stay home all the time. I don't like being by myself that much. I'd rather be doing something all the time instead of just sitting. I hope I never get so that I can't go out and be with people and have fun.

My friends and I really have a lot of fun driving around, laughing, joking, and being with our group.

Plans for the Future

Scores on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Men's Form M and Women's Form W) for the nineteen high school students in the 1968-1969 East Bay public schools sample, as well as for nine additional adult Indian females and four additional adult Indian males are given in Appendix XI. Complete background information on the two versions of the Strong used in this study can be found in the test manual (Strong 1966).

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank measures vocational interests, and although recommended for persons at the grade twelve level and above with college orientations, is used on a somewhat broader population. The test is not meant to, nor does it pretend to measure abilities. High scores for any occupation included in the versions of the Strong used in this study are those of 45 and above (see Campbell 1968, 1969 1971; and Strong 1966).

As a group, the thirteen high school girls in the 1968-1969 school sample received an important percentage of Strong scores of 45 and above for the occupations of Housewife, Office Worker, and Stenographer-Secretary, in that order (see Appendix XI). These results are interesting in view of the heavy family and kinship orientations observed among this random group of Indian students, and in view of the fact that Clerical Work was the category of greatest occupational employment for Indian women living in the San Francisco-Oakland area during both the 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses (see Appendixes III and IV). Note also that in Table I of Appendix XI, the occupations for Indian females who took the Women's Form W of the Strong represented by Columns Three, Five, Six, Eight, Twenty, Twenty-seven, and Thirty show a considerable number of identical lower scores in each of these columns. Due to the scaling format for the Women's Form W of the Strong, some occupations had a minimum possi[illegible] score which was higher than zero. Thus, for the occupations represented by these seven columns (Librarian, Social Worker, Psychologist, YWCA Secretary, Physical Education Teacher (College), Physician, and Engineer), scores frequently demonstrated an absolute minimum of interest, and there was a resulting "pile-up" of minimum floor scores rather than a more normal distribution. Compare these columns with Column Four (English Teacher), which has several zeros, and Column Seven (Social Science Teacher) which has minus scores. Again, these are minimum interest scores. If nothing else, identical minimum interest scores for a random sample of Indian women from a wide variety of tribal and geographic backgrounds may indicate that the Strong Vocational Interest Blank can be successfully given to Indian women with some assurance that the resulting scores will indicate useful patterns of vocational interests, whether these patterns are found in low, or in high interest occupations.

During interviews, seven of the thirteen high school girls in the sample said that they would like to be, or would probably work as Clerk Typist/Secretaries upon graduation from high school. Two others said they wanted to train as key punch operators, and one said she planned to take IBM business training in Oakland. Although another girl in the sample had no specific occupational plans other than marriage as soon as her fiancé was discharged from the armed forces, she did say that she planned "to work" after high school graduation. Two girls in the sample planned to go to college, one in order to become a teacher and work with children on her home reservation. The other girl who planned to go to college had no specific major in mind at the time of the interviews.

With respect to the six high school boys, results on the Men's Form M of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank indicated Printer and Carpenter, in that order as occupations with the largest number of scores of 45 and above (see Table II in Appendix XI). The occupations of Farmer and Aviator followed Carpenter, each with the same total number of scores of 45 and above. Then, following Farmer and Aviator, the occupations of Policeman and Physical Therapist each had an equal number of scores of 45 and above. Compare these results with 1970 U.S. Census data (Appendixes III and IV), which indicated that Craftsman was the category of greatest occupational employment for Indian males living in the San Francisco-Oakland Area in 1970. Finally, there were no "pile-ups" of minimum interest scores for Indian males on the Men's Form M of the Strong as was the case for Indian women on the Women's Form W.

Three of the six high school boys in the 1968-1969 school sample stated that they might enter the armed services after high school. One student who was living in Santa Fe Indian Village said that although he had been considering college, he would probably end up working for Santa Fe Railway as a Carman or Roundhouse Mechanic, just as his father and other male relatives had done before him. Two other boys said that they definitely planned to attend college or university, one in order to study Civil Engineering, and the other in order to study either Social Work or Law. The unadjusted youth who was living in a Boys' Home and taking heavy doses of drugs at the time of the study did not know which occupation he wished to pursue after high school. Furthermore, his profile of Strong Vocational Interest Blank scores indicated mental confusion and a need for immediate psychological counselling.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

If data gathered during the total span of this study between 1965 and 1969 were correct, and trends shown by the random group of Indian students and their families who were included in the 1968-1969 public schools sample could be generalized to the larger population of Indians living in the San Francisco Bay Area at that time, then at least one major conclusion emerged. As a group, the Indian students in this study and their families were largely adjusted to urban life. Though not free of pressures and concerns, their lives were successful. Furthermore, the increased availability of resources in the city was enabling many Indians to pursue the widespread goal of strengthening domestic and extended family groups.

For some students in the sample, public schools in the East Bay Area seemed to be increasing the probability for graduation from high school. However, the number of students in the sample who were seriously unadjusted to school, and thus to a major urban institution was small. In each case, the unadjusted students had personal problems and pressures which extended beyond school, and which were caused by severe family strain rather than by school itself. Teachers and schools in the East Bay were providing support and guidance for these students which was largely responsible for the fact that they were still in school. For schools with lesser facilities, this might not have been the case.

The students in this study who were adjusted to school were also succeeding in other areas of their lives. In each case, students who were succeeding in school were backed by strong and supportive families at home. The presence of competent fathers (employed and emotionally-supportive social fathers) in student homes was extremely significant. Little other than family organization could be correlated with school performance and adjustment. For example, cultural conservatism or traditionalism and other personal choices of life-style did not affect school achievement or general urban adjustment. Tribal backgrounds, languages spoken in student homes, occupations of family members, levels of schooling attained by family members, exact family incomes, standard of living, student participation in extra-curricular activities at school, student and family participation in Pan-Indian activities in the Bay Area and elsewhere, birth in the city or on home reservations, student and family participation in traditional religious or other tribal activities, method of relocation to the city from home areas, whether or not students were read to as children and had books in their homes, and whether or not students were members of Indian or non-Indian peer groups in the city all had no correlation with success in school or general ability to adjust to the city.

On the other hand, positive relationships in urban domestic units and with extended kin located both in the city and on home reservations were the primary variables determining adjustment to major urban institutions such as public schools, and to urban life in general. Thus, data gathered during this study indicated that the Indian family was the major focus of urban life. In addition to relationships with domestic kin, relationships with kin on home reservations were also central to most people's lives, and Indian residents of the Bay Area in the late 1960's tended to see themselves as emotional, financial, strategic, and geographical continuations of kin on home reservations.

In the late 1960's, Indian domestic units in the Bay Area were often flexible, extended family groups which were composed of a variable number of kin in addition to a central core of kin. Furthermore, most of these kin were emotionally dependent on one another. Depending on visitors from home reservations and other factors, urban Indian families frequently varied in composition. Many families had more than one member in the labour force, and most handled income and other resources corporately, including regular remittances to relatives on home reservations.

Although remittances to home reservations caused many Indian families to display an overt standard of living which was "lower" than that of other people in the area with similar incomes, resource distribution throughout extended kinship networks was generally regarded as a viable and expected investment rather than a liability. Although the majority of Indian adults had jobs and access to family resources, and were thus not responding to economic deprivation, some aspects of resource distribution among urban Indian families were similar to the distribution of resources described by Stack (1974) for some urban Blacks. In addition, urban Indian children followed the lines of resource distribution throughout extended kinship networks in that they were frequently subject to multiple parenting, as well as to reciprocal rights and obligations spread over a wide range of kin. Temporary and long-term child fostering was a common method of emphasizing resource distribution throughout extended family networks, and lines for child fostering among urban Indians tended to follow the same lines of distribution as money, material goods, and other forms of economic and strategic aid. Note that unlike adoption, kinship fostering involves no permanent loss of rights and obligations, and no permanent changes in status. This is because changes of residence and immediate jurisdiction occur within the group in which these rights are already held (Goody, E. 1973:181). Child fostering among urban Indians in the Bay Area usually meant that children were sent to live with reservation kin, and that children of reservation kin came to live in the city. This movement of children back and forth between domestic units in the total family network seemed to encourage strong emotional ties between Indian children and a wide range of extended family kin, and meant that potential rights in children as well as potential support for children in case of stress or emergencies were distributed over a wide range of kin (cf. Goody, E. 1973; Goody, J. 1976; and Stack 1974). Genealogies collected from urban Indian students in the 1968-1969 public schools sample confirmed extensive knowledge about kin as a result of large amounts of time spent in observing and relating to extended kin. And, in addition to strengthening kinship ties along lines of resource distribution, the movement of Indian children back and forth between domestic units equalized their distribution throughout extended kinship networks. For example, two students in the public schools sample had been "given" to childless siblings by their original parents, and thus, in effect, had two sets of parents with whom they shared reciprocal parent-child rights and obligations.

The solidarity of most urban Indian families in the Bay Area, their relationships with reservation kin, and the heavy emotional support provided by normal Indian families regardless of tribal background indicated that a primary motivation for kinship behaviour was extremely strong kinship affect. In many cases, this heavy affect led to an emotional dependence on kin which was qualitatively different from that found in many other ethnic groups with strong family orientations. Where strong emotional support from families did not exist or ceased to exist due to the breakup of families, urban Indian migrants often experienced personal and emotional disorganization, at least on a temporary basis. In general, the outcome of heavy emotional attachment to kin among Indian residents of the Bay Area was a series of reciprocal affectual ties based on extended kinship rights and obligations, including a corresponding flow of remittances, children, and other resources along these same lines of reciprocity.

Eventually it became clear that heavy emotional dependence on kin was an investment which ensured both the allegiance of individual kin, and the solidarity of groups of kin in the face of migration, geographical separation, and rapid social change. Those who became successful in the city (and thus even more valuable to their kin groups) were less likely to detach themselves from kin and stop distributing their resources among kin if they were strongly attached to these kin. Moreover, the maintenance of extended family ties by Indian migrants to the city was an extremely valuable form of insurance against emergencies in the city. Thus, the cultivation of heavy reciprocal affect among urban Indian migrants and their extended kin was a major focal point for organization, as well as a valuable technique for survival. Whether or not this strong emotional dependence on kin will be needed and duplicated among the children of offspring born to the original Indian migrants to the Bay Area and other metropolitan centres where there are large numbers of Indians remains to be seen. The constant presence of Indian children at formal and informal events and activities indicated that children were being taught to value both their families and the urban Indian community. If this dependence on kin is needed and duplicated in future generations, then the next stage in the urbanization of North American Indians may well be an increasing trend towards ethnicity. This trend will probably include the further development of ethnic institutions by Indians in cities, and a corresponding growth of ethnic institutions on home reservations which are partially supported and financed by a flow of skills and resources from cities.

APPENDIX I

NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATIONS FOR COUNTIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA:

1940, 1950, 1960, 1970

The ten California counties surrounding the San Francisco Bay area are Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, San Francisco, San Mateo, Marin, Napa, Santa Cruz, Solano, and Sonoma. The first five are most relevant to this study.

Locations of important relocation cities are as follows: The cities of Oakland and Alameda are located in Alameda County, San Francisco in San Francisco County, and San Jose in Santa Clara County. The city of Richmond is located in Contra Costa County. In 1969, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained Field Employment Assistance Offices in the cities of Alameda and San Jose. At the same time, important urban relocation and training sites for Native persons included Oakland-Alameda, San Francisco, and San Jose. Also at that time, Santa Cruz County, located between Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties, as well as Solano County, located between Contra Costa and Napa Counties, were experiencing a notable increase in numbers of Native Americans.

APPENDIX I, Continued, page 2

NATIVE AMERICAN POPULATIONS FOR COUNTIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970

	1940			1950		
County	Total Population	Native Am. Population	% Change over Previous Census	Total Population	Native Am. Population	% Change over Previous Census
Alameda	513,011	196	-	740,315	510	160.2
Contra Costa	100,450	25	-	298,984	247	888.0
Santa Clara	174,949	74	-	290,547	144	94.6
San Francisco	634,536	224	-	775,357	331	47.8
San Mateo	111,782	18	-	235,659	54	200.0
Marin	52,907	82	-	85,619	82	0.0
Napa	28,503	28	-	46,603	43	53.6
Santa Cruz	45,057	12	-	66,534	17	41.7
Solano	49,118	27	-	104,833	84	211.1
Sonoma	69,052	383	-	103,405	585	52.7
TOTAL:	1,779,365	1,069		2,747,856	2,097	

APPENDIX I, Continued, page 3

	1960			1970		
County	Total Population	Native Am. Population	% Change over Previous Census	Total Population	Native Am. Population	% Change over Previous Census
Alameda	908,209	1,688	230.9	1,073,184	5,688	237.0
Contra Costa*	409,030	447	80.9	558,389	1,701	280.5
Santa Clara	642,315	705	389.6	1,064,714	4,048	474.2
San Francisco	740,316	1,068	222.7	715,674	2,900	171.5
San Mateo	444,387	319	490.7	556,234	1,340	320.1
Marin	146,820	153	86.6	206,038	382	149.7
Napa	65,890	118	174.4	79,140	215	82.2
Santa Cruz	84,219	114	570.6	123,790	360	215.8
Solano*	134,597	208	147.6	169,941	1,048	403.9
Sonoma	147,375	949	62.2	204,885	1,623	71.0
TOTAL:	3,723,158	5,769		4,751,989	19,305	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970.
*Part of Solano County was transferred to Contra Costa County by 1970.

APPENDIX II

APPROVED ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING COURSES, UNITED STATES BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, OAKLAND FIELD EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE OFFICE, JANUARY 14, 1965

- Accountant
- Apparel Construction and Design (Dressmaker, Women's Garment Alteration, Retail Trade)
- Architectural Design and Drafting
- Auto Body Repairman, Metal
- Auto Mechanic
- Baker
- Barber
- Business Machine Operator
- Carpenter: Pre-Apprentice Training
- Clerk (General)
- Clerk: General Office and/or Transcribing Machine Operator
- Clerk-Typist
- Compositor
- Comptometer (Combination)
- Cosmetology
- Dental Assistant
- Dictaphone-Transcriber Typist
- Diesel Mechanic: Pre-Apprentice Training
- Dry Cleaning
- Electronics Technician
- Housekeeper (Hotel and Restaurant)
- IBM Key Punch and Verifier Operator
- Industrial Sewing (Power Sewing Machine Operator)
- Interior and Exterior Housepainting & Decorating
- Junior Accountant
- Junior Secretary
- Machine Operator: Nuclear Manufacturing Processes
- Machinist
- Medical Assistant
- Nurse Aide
- Nurse Aide and Orderly
- Office Machine Serviceman
- Police Science
- Practical Nurse
- Pressman
- Radio and Television Technician
- Registered Nurse
- Restaurant Cook
- Sheetmetal Worker
- Shoe Rebuilding
- Stenographer
- Transcribing Machine Operator
- Upholstering
- Vocational Nurse
- Waiter/Waitress
- Welder (Combination)
- X-ray Technician

APPENDIX II, Continued, page 2

N.B. Because available training varied according to schools participating in BIA Adult Vocational Training Programs at any given time, this is an approximate listing. Also, some occupations were more popular than others. Among the more sought-after training courses during the late 1960's were those for Auto Body Repairman, Auto Mechanic, Pre-Apprentice Carpentry, Cosmetology (including Hairdressing), Dental Assistant, Pre-Apprentice Diesel Mechanic, Electronics, Machinist, Vocational Nursing, and Welder (see also Hart, 1964).

APPENDIX III

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN RESIDENTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA: 1960 AND 1970 UNITED STATES CENSUS DATA*

(Refer to the Key on page three for
full Column Headings)

	San Francisco-Oakland (not including San Jose)		Total U.S. Indian Population	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
1.	4,422	12,041	523,591	792,730
2.	23.3	22.9	19.1	19.9
3.	22.1	23.2	19.4	20.9
4.	10.6	4 Yrs. High School (Age Group 25-34)	8.4	11.9 (Age Group 25-34)
5.	10.8	4 Yrs. High School (Age Group 25-34)	8.5	11.5 (Age Group 25-34)
6.	75	72.4	59	63.4
7.	36	45.4	25	35.3
8.	9	9.1	15	11.6
9.	13	10.7	11	10.2
10.	Operatives	Craftsmen	Operatives	Operatives
11.	27	28.3	19	23.9
12.	Clerical Workers	Clerical Workers	Service Workers	Service Workers
13.	19	40.4	20	26.3

APPENDIX III, Continued, page 2

	San Francisco-Oakland (not including San Jose)		Total U.S. Indian Population	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
14.	Wholesale and retail trade	Professional and related services	Agriculture	Professional and related services
15.	15	19.0	18	19.0
16.**	$3,349	$6,175	$1,792	$3,509

Sources: Neils, 1971, pp. 160-163, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b, pp. XI, 2, 27, 36, 86, 140, 150, 160, 170.

* In addition to data on Indian residents of the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, data on the total United States Indian population is included for purposes of comparison.

** Census data on income is for the year preceeding the Census.

APPENDIX III, Continued, page 3

KEY

1. Indian Populations of the San Francisco-Oakland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and the United States for 1960 and 1970.
2. Median Age, Male
3. Median Age, Female
4. Median School Years Completed, Adult Males
5. Median School Years Completed, Adult Females
6. Per Cent of Males in the Labour Force
7. Per Cent of Females in the Labour Force
8. Per Cent of Males Unemployed
9. Per Cent of Females Unemployed
10. Occupational Category of Greatest Male Employment of the Indian Population
11. Per Cent of Employed Males in Said Category
12. Occupational Category of Greatest Female Employment of the Indian Population
13. Per Cent of Employed Females in Said Category
14. Industry Category of Greatest Employment of the Indian Population
15. Per Cent of Total Employed in Said Category
16. Median Male Income

APPENDIX IV

OCCUPATIONS OF INDIAN RESIDENTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND AND SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS: 1970 UNITED STATES CENSUS DATA

TABLE I: MALES

Major Occupational Group	SF-O	%	S.J.	%	Total U.S. Urban Indian Males	%	Total U.S. Indian Males	%
Employed males, 16 & over	2432		963		61,658		116,467	
Professional/Technical	250	10.28	184	19.11	7,024	11.39	10,754	9.23
Managers/Admin. (non-farm)	108	4.44	47	4.88	3,567	5.79	5,871	5.04
Sales workers	112	4.61	50	5.19	1,985	3.22	2,798	2.40
Clerical workers	224	9.21	69	7.17	4,480	7.27	6,609	5.67
Craftsmen	688	28.29	205	21.29	14,259	23.13	25,725	22.09
Operatives incl. transport	610	25.08	244	25.34	15,782	25.60	27,872	23.93
Laborers, except farm	213	8.76	52	5.40	6,670	10.82	15,327	13.16
Farmers & farm managers	--	--	9	0.93	144	0.23	2,645	2.27
Farm Laborers & foremen	5	0.21	15	1.56	1,085	1.76	6,655	5.71
Service workers (except private home)	217	8.92	83	8.62	6,551	10.62	12,047	10.34
Private household workers	5	0.21	5	0.52	111	0.18	164	0.14

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b, pp. 86, 87, 170. Data based on a 20 per cent sample. See the Census Report volume for an explanation of data-handling procedures.

APPENDIX IV, Continued, page 2

TABLE II: FEMALES

Major Occupational Group	SF-O	%	S.J.	%	Total U.S. Urban Indian Females	%	Total U.S. Indian Females	%
Employed females, 16 & over	1665		472		42,803		73,766	
Professional/Technical	270	16.22	83	17.58	5,195	12.14	8,184	11.10
Managers/Admin. (non-farm)	52	3.12	9	1.91	1,061	2.48	1,752	2.38
Sales workers	71	4.26	41	8.69	2,041	4.77	2,914	3.95
Clerical workers	673	40.42	126	26.69	12,216	28.54	18,523	25.11
Craftsmen	58	3.48	8	1.69	959	2.24	1,578	2.14
Operatives incl. transport	159	9.55	87	18.43	7,101	16.59	13,759	18.65
Laborers, except farm	11	0.66	4	0.85	450	1.05	991	1.34
Farmers & farm managers	--	--	--	--	38	0.09	439	0.60
Farm laborers & foremen	6	0.36	--	--	258	0.60	1,270	1.72
Service workers (except private home)	321	19.28	95	20.13	10,609	24.79	19,401	26.30
Private household workers	44	2.64	19	4.03	2,875	6.72	4,955	6.72

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b, pp. 86, 87, 170. Data based on a 20 per cent sample. See the Census Report volume for an explanation of data-handling procedures.

APPENDIX V

INCOMES OF INDIAN RESIDENTS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND AND SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS: 1970 UNITED STATES CENSUS DATA*

Income of Families:	SF-O	%	S.J.	%	Total U.S. Urban Indian	%	Total U.S. Indian	%	Total Calif. Urban	%
All Families:	2,522		1,036		71,213		149,122		4,546,124	
Less than 1,000	107	4.24	26	2.51	3,167	4.45	11,751	7.88	98,254	2.16
1,000 - 1,999	111	4.40	32	3.09	3,727	5.23	12,340	8.28	101,475	2.23
2,000 - 2,999	149	5.91	18	1.74	4,863	6.83	13,616	9.13	153,959	3.39
3,000 - 3,999	179	7.10	12	1.16	5,466	7.68	13,627	9.14	187,245	4.12
4,000 - 4,999	108	4.28	84	8.11	5,238	7.36	12,657	8.49	194,011	4.27
5,000 - 5,999	134	5.31	81	7.82	5,876	8.25	12,710	8.52	213,458	4.70
6,000 - 6,999	156	6.19	59	5.69	5,473	7.69	11,487	7.70	235,206	5.17
7,000 - 7,999	193	7.65	79	7.63	5,566	7.82	10,251	6.87	262,387	5.77
8,000 - 8,999	157	6.23	62	5.98	5,248	7.37	9,357	6.27	282,338	6.21
9,000 - 9,999	148	5.87	81	7.82	4,611	6.47	7,895	5.29	283,609	6.24
10,000 - 11,999	274	10.86	134	12.93	7,637	10.72	12,340	8.28	580,901	12.78
12,000 - 14,999	347	13.76	175	16.89	6,900	9.69	10,585	7.10	706,751	15.55
15,000 - 24,999	408	16.18	180	17.37	6,368	8.94	8,984	6.02	962,518	21.17
25,000 and over	51	2.02	13	1.25	1,073	1.51	1,522	1.02	284,012	6.25
Median Income:	$8,790		$9,802		$7,323		$5,832		$10,899	
Mean Income:	$9,745		$10,209		$8,235		$6,857		$12,400	

APPENDIX V, Continued, page 2

Income (Continued):	SF-O	%	S.J.	%	Total U.S. Urban Indian	%	Total U.S. Indian	%	Total Calif. Urban	%
All unrelated individuals, 14 yrs. & over:	1,919		363		41,810		61,319		2,162,425	
Mean income:	$3,852		$3,424		$2,847		$2,537		$4,830	
Per Capita Income of Persons:	$2,651		$2,597		$2,108		$1,573		$3,699	
Income Less than the Poverty Level:										
Persons:	2,371		542		81,530		280,427		1,901,416	
% all persons		20.6		12.6		25.5		38.3		10.7
% 65 yrs. & up		2.4		5.4		7.9		7.4		14.5
Families:	439		90		14,930		49,669		368,881	
% all families		17.4		8.7		21.0		33.3		8.1
Mean family size	3.97		---		4.39		5.04		3.76	
Mean $ deficit	$1,659		---		$1,691		$2,020		$1,604	
With children under 18 yrs.	381	86.79	74	82.22	12,081	80.92	40,153	80.84	265,467	71.97
With female head	187	42.60	23	25.56	6,463	43.29	15,287	30.78	159,989	43.37

APPENDIX V, Continued, page 3

Income* (Continued):	SF-O	%	S.J.	%	Total U.S. Urban Indian	%	Total U.S. Indian	%	Total Calif. Urban	%
Income Less than the Poverty Level: (Continued)										
Unrelated individuals, 14 yrs. & Up:	635		148		15,890		28,394		515,479	
% of above		36.2		42.0		47.0		54.4		26.7
Mean $ deficit	$1,297		$1,295		$1,173		$1,171		$1,008	
% 65 yrs. & up		6.9		16.2		22.7		27.4		35.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973a, Section One, pp. 6-403; and 1973b, pp. 120 and 170.

* 1970 Census data on income is for the year preceeding the Census, or 1969. In addition to 1970 Census data on the incomes of Indian residents of San Francisco-Oakland and San Jose, 1970 Census data for incomes of the total United States urban Indian population, the total United States Indian population regardless of location, and the total California urban population are included for purposes of comparison.

APPENDIX VI

NATIVE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, 1969

Oakland-Alameda, including Richmond:

Four Winds Club--Oakland YWCA organization begun in 1915 to meet the social and recreational needs of Indian girls participating in the Government-initiated Outing and Indian Employment Office Programs. Between 1915-1942 this organization was dedicated to single girls, but since 1942 it has become a family organization. Monthly recreational activities include dances, Pow Wows, dinners, arts and crafts displays, and many other events and activities.

Santa Fe Indian Village, Richmond--Miniature Acoma and Laguna Pueblo village. Begun during the early years of World War II and populated by employees of the Santa Fe Railway. Formerly much larger and more active during World War II. Elects own Governor by secret ballot each December 30, and immediately sends these election results back to the home Pueblos. The orientation of residents is almost exclusively towards Santa Fe Village and the home Pueblos, although a few people also participate in Bay Area Pan-Indian events such as Pow Wows. Residents make frequent trips to their home Pueblos for visits with relatives and to participate in various Pueblo activities. Children often spend summers in their home Pueblos. A Governor's Feast is held among Acoma residents in late January or early February. Village people operate under the close supervision of authorities in their home Pueblos, and members of older generations plan to retire "back home". Similar villages exist or have existed in Barstow, California, and Winslow, Arizona. For further information on Santa Fe Indian Village, see Chapters One and Three.

The Intertribal Friendship House (IFH)--Founded by the American Friend's Service Committee in July, 1955. An Oakland-based social activity and social service center with a broad range of programs. Publishes a monthly

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 2

newsletter of Indian and Eskimo activities in Oakland and the rest of the Bay Area, including news of such organizations as The San Francisco Indian Center, The San Francisco Friendship House, The San Jose Indian Center, The Intertribal Council of California, and occasionally, information about statewide or national Indian activities and events. The IFH employs a full-time social worker and other social service personnel. Funded by the United Bay Area Crusade, the American Friend's Service Committee, and various private sources.

Activities based at the Intertribal Friendship House and organizations using its facilities include:

The Intertribal Friendship House Trading Post--Sells Indian and Eskimo crafts from all parts of the United States, and some items from Canda.

The Intertribal Friendship House Board of Directors and House Council--Decision and policy-making body for the IFH.

The United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs--Begun in 1957 as an independent, intertribal organization concerned with improving the living conditions of all Indians in the Bay Area. Has had some input into federal, county, and city policies affecting Indians and Eskimos (see Ablon 1963:90-92). Meets bimonthly and maintains its headquarters at the IFH. Sponsors a monthly Oakland Pow Wow, the Bay Area Prison Visitation Program, the Annual Bay Area Picnic and Pow Wow, the American Indian Pageant, and many other activities and events.

Pow Wow and Picnic Committee Groups--Meet monthly all year in order to organize the Annual Bay Area Indian Picnic and Pow Wow, and the annual American Indian Pageant. Sponsored by the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs.

The Bay Area Prison Visitation Program (originally the San Quentin Visitation Program)--Begun in the late 1960's by the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs. Includes monthly visits by volunteer participants to Native inmates of San Quentin Prison and other facilities, and provides information, entertainment, aid, and encouragement for these inmates.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 3

At intervals the Visitation Program Staff organizes a special program of Pan-Indian dancing and singing for an entire prison audience. The activities of this program have had important consequences for the identity and self-esteem of Native inmates of San Quentin State Prison, the Sierra Conservation Center at Jamestown, California, and other facilities.

Intertribal Friendship House Supervised Activities Committee--Helps organize all-Indian rock and roll dances, western dances, and other activities of interest to young people. Sponsored in part by the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs and works with the American Indian Youth Council of the Bay Area (see also Youth Night).

American Indian Youth Council of the Bay Area--Originally begun in 1960 at the Intertribal Friendship House to plan activities for single Indian people between the ages of about 16 and 22. Helps plan all-Indian rock and roll dances, scholarship dinners, weekly Youth Night meetings, and other events.

Youth Night--Weekly dinner meetings at the Intertribal Friendship House. Social activity and sports orientation, with an emphasis on cultural pride and self-esteem.

Ladies' Club--Weekly meetings at the Intertribal Friendship House. Women bring young children and participate in varied projects, outings, and activities. Acts as an information clearing-house and provides social support and entertainment.

Tutorial Program for Elementary School Age Children--Supervised work with individual tutors one evening a week during the school year at the Intertribal Friendship House, plus occasional outings on weekends.

Summer Arts Program for Indian Children--Weekly full-day program at the Intertribal Friendship House, including supervised arts and crafts and occasional outings.

Intertribal Friendship House Softball Teams and Intramural Baseball activities--Extremely popular and well-attended (see also Bay Area Indian Athletic Association under Oakland-Alameda).

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 4

Intertribal Friendship House Young Men's Pool Tournaments--Extremely popular and well-attended.

Christmas, Thanksgiving, and Youth Achievement Awards Night Dinners, as well as other community banquets on special occasions.

Rock and Roll Band practice groups (see also Rock and Roll Band practice groups under Oakland-Alameda).

Pow Wow singing and drumming practice groups (see also Pow Wow singing and drumming practice groups under Oakland-Alameda).

Occasional Pow Wows held at the Intertribal Friendship House--Various sponsors, including private parties (see also Monthly Pow Wows under Oakland-Alameda).

Ski trips and other outings to points of interest, including occasional trips to California Indian ceremonials in other parts of the state.

Individual Counselling and Guidance provided by the IFH Staff Social Worker and other social service personnel.

Political and Legal Rights Meetings--Flexible agendas, depending on issues and needs. Occasionally, Native people from out-of-state hold information-sharing meetings at the IFH which are open to all interested observers.

Indian or Eskimo Clubs, many of which meet at the Intertribal Friendship House:

Navajo Club
Tlingit-Haida Club
Papago Club (including Pimas)
Chippewa Club }
Sioux Club } May have been less active by late 1969.
Eskimo Club }

The American Indian Baptist Church (Oakland)--Founded about 1956-1957 as a result of Vesper Services held at the Intertribal Friendship House (see Goodner, 1969. Goodner was instrumental in organizing the Oakland American Indian Baptist Church and the San Francisco American Indian Baptist Church. See also the American Indian Baptist Church under San Francisco).

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 5

East Bay Inter-Church Indian Committee--Established in 1957. Employs field workers to act as liaisons between Indian people and the churches of their choice.

Annual Bay Area Indian Picnic and Pow Wow--Held Labour Day Weekend in the San Jose area. Open to the public. Begun in about 1957 by the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs (see that title under the Intertribal Friendship House).

American Indian Pageant--Annual all-Indian parade and Pow Wow held in the Hayward area during the Memorial Day Weekend. Open to the public. Begun at about the same time as the Annual Bay Area Indian Picnic and Pow Wow, and is also sponsored by the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs.

Monthly Pow Wows--Begun in the late 1950's. By the mid-1960's, monthly Pow Wows organized by various sponsors had become so numerous that there were two or three Pow Wows a month at combined locations such as various schools and arenas in Oakland and San Jose, the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, and the San Francisco Indian Center. East Bay sponsors included the United Bay Area Council on American Indian Affairs, the Intertribal Friendship House, the Four Winds Club, the San Jose Dance Club, the United American Indians of Santa Clara Valley, the United American Indian Center of San Jose, the American Indian Traditional Committee, and private individuals. Private or individually sponsored Pow Wows were held for servicemen going overseas, teen-age girls' social debuts, and so forth. Occasionally, individually-sponsored Pow Wows included Give-Aways in the name of the persons being honoured.

Pow Wow singing and drumming practice groups--The dates of origin and life spans of these groups vary, but some were in existence by the late 1950's and the number of groups had increased by the mid-1960's.

Haskell Institute Alumni Association--Active since the late 1950's. Sponsors an annual Alumni Picnic and Haskell Institute baseball and basketball teams. Note that Haskell Alumni have traditionally provided considerable leadership for the Bay Area Indian Community.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 6

All-Indian rock and roll dances held in Oakland (and San Francisco at or near the San Francisco Indian Centre, as well as at the American Indian Center of San Jose; see also these titles under those locations)--Rock and roll dances were originated in about 1960 by the American Indian Youth Council of the Bay Area, and are extremely important for both new arrivals to the city and a large percentage of younger Indians and Eskimos. Many younger people attend the Oakland, San Francisco, or San Jose dances as often as possible. Oakland sponsors include the United Bay Area Council on Am. Indian Affairs, the Four Winds Club, the Intertribal Friendship House Supervised Activities Committee, and the American Indian Youth Council of the Bay Area.

Rock and Roll Band practice groups--These groups perform at all-Indian rock and roll dances and various other social functions. The dates of origin and life-spans of such bands vary, but they had become more numerous by the mid-1960's.

The Native American Church--Officially founded in 1961 in San Francisco, but included an earlier informal group which met in Santa Cruz and other sites in the East Bay. See Chapter Two.

Bay Area Indian Athletic Association--An organization begun in about 1961 to sponsor basketball and baseball teams and other sports events. In 1969 there were at least 14 or more Indian basketball teams in the Bay Area, including a Navajo team and an Intertribal Friendship House Ladies' Basketball Team. These teams compete in Bay Area-wide, statewide, and national intramural competition, have an annual tournament, and travel to Los Angeles or other parts of California, as well as to Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and even to Chicago in order to play other Indian teams. Teams from these alternate locations also travel to the Bay Area in order to play Bay Area teams. Basketball is a large, Pan-Indian activity, and like baseball, is extremely popular and well-attended (see also Intertribal Friendship House Softball and Baseball under the Intertribal Friendship House).

East Bay Indians' Bowling League--Begun in the mid-1960's.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 7

Oakland Indian Well-Baby Clinic--Organized by an American Indian nurse and her employer in 1962. Held monthly at the employer's office. Services and materials are donated by the physician and his nurse, as well as by any other volunteers or donors which this team can recruit.

The First Indian Methodist Church--Begun in the mid-1960's. Sunday fellowship at the Intertribal Friendship House or private homes.

Oakland Mormon Temple Indian Social Group--Begun in the mid-1960's. Social events and activities for Indian members of the Oakland Mormon Temple.

Oakland Recreation Commission--Has cooperated with the Intertribal Friendship House since the mid-1960's to make Oakland recreational facilities and Recreation Commission personnel available to Indian people.

Oakland American Indian Association--Service, employment advice and referral, and information centre begun in 1966. Coordinates its resources with the Intertribal Friendship House, the Opportunities Industrialization Center, and other local agencies, and is funded in part by United States Office of Economic Opportunity grants. Works extensively in the areas of employment, education, housing, and recreation, including social policy concerning these subjects. Provides financial advice and has a small emergency loan fund.

Annual Alaska Picnic--Eskimo persons residing in the Bay Area, and their families and friends. Begun in 1967.

San Quentin Intertribal Cultural Group--Organization of San Quentin inmates inside of the prison founded in about 1967-1968. Publishes the San Quentin-based American Indian Cultural Group Newsletter, and participates in the Bay Area Prison Visitation Program (see the Bay Area Prison Visitation Program under the Intertribal Friendship House).

Indians Together (IT)--Politically oriented group arising in about 1967-1968 out of the contact of various individuals with national civil rights groups and activities. For example, this group included Native persons who had participated in the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 8

Oakland Area State Employment Service Office--Began employing a full-time Indian worker in the late 1960's whose job is to lobby for employment for Indians in the Oakland-Alameda area, and to place Indian workers in jobs in the area.

Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Oakland--In 1969, the OIC began a program headed by two Indian employees concerning job and educational counselling and job placement for Indian persons. The centre also teaches courses in Indian culture and history.

United Native Americans, Inc.--University of California, Berkeley branch of the San Francisco Organization, begun about 1968-1969. Sponsors lectures, films, seminars, courses on Indian culture and history, and a Native American Week at the Berkeley campus. Lobbies for political legislation and the legal rights of Indian people at both the state and federal levels (see also United Native Americans under San Francisco).

University of California, Berkeley, Native American Studies Program--Begun in 1969.

Coalition of American Indian Citizens, Berkeley--Begun in 1969. Has a division of Educational Research and Demonstration.

Native Bars in Oakland in 1969 included:
- Mom's Cafe
- The Three G's
- The Old Homestead
- The Life Cocktail Lounge
- The Esquire Club
- Kawliga Pow Wow (Indian owned)
- The Velvet Glove
- The Hello Club

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 9

San Francisco

American Indian Historical Society--Founded in 1950 and incorporated in 1964. Includes the Indian Historian Press and a Museum of Indian Arts which professionally exhibits the work of Native American artists. Publishes a quarterly professional journal titled The Indian Historian (first issued in 1964, with a new series in 1968); a children's magazine titled The Weewish Tree (first issued in 1971); and an Indian newspaper titled Wassaja (first issued in 1973). Maintains an Indian Library and Archives, owns the Ohlone Indian Cemetery, administers the Munsee scholarship Fund for Indian youth, holds classes and lectures in American Indian History, organizes workshops and seminars for teachers, and sponsors the development of school curricula. Also sponsors a series of programs which include legislation for the protection of Indian arts, as well as the research and documentation of materials for educators, Indian people, and the public. Makes efforts to correct textbook material on the role of Native people in history. Helps organize and publish proceedings of the Annual Conference of American Indian Scholars. Lobbies for political legislation and the legal rights of Native people at both the state and federal levels.

American Indian Holiness (Pentecostal) Church--Founded, probably in the 1950's, by a Choctaw woman minister who had come to the Bay Area to work in the shipyards. Membership is comprised of a small group of interested people, including the founder's kin, who meet at a church in the Mission District.

Relocated American Indian Project of the International Institute of San Francisco--Begun in 1956 as a service to relocated Indians. Sponsors a variety of projects and activities (see Williams 1957).

American Indian Centre--Founded by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul of San Francisco in 1957. Sponsors rock and roll dances, Pow Wows, meetings, bingo and many other activities and services (see also all-Indian rock and roll dances under Oakland-Alameda).

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 10

The American Indian Baptist Church--Begun in 1958 as an extension of the Oakland church (see Goodner 1969, and also the American Indian Baptist Church under Oakland-Alameda).

Methodist-Baptist Interdenominational Fellowship--Originally begun in the late 1950's through cooperation between Oklahoma Seminoles and Creeks who had been active in the American Indian Baptist Church, and some Oklahoma Seminoles and Creeks of Methodist background. Activities include Sunday meetings with pot-luck dinners, and an emphasis on gospel singing.

The Native American Church--Founded in 1961 (see Chapter Two, and also the Native American Church under Oakland-Alameda).

The Friendship House of San Francisco--Begun in the late 1960's as a social and social service centre with a Christian emphasis. By 1968-1969 the Friendship House was funded in part by the United States Office of Economic Opportunity, and was working extensively in the areas of employment referrals, educational opportunities, housing, and recreation. Sponsors pot-luck dinners, ping poing and pool tournaments, softball teams, family picnics, Vacation Bible Schools for children, and evangelistic meetings, and provides emergency housing referrals.

United Native Americans, Inc.--Political organization, begun about 1968. Publishes the newsletter Warpath, and has ties with United Native Americans, Inc. on the University of California, Berkeley campus (see also United Native Americans under Oakland-Alameda).

San Francisco State College (California State University, San Francisco) Native American Studies Department--Begun in 1969.

Native Bars in San Francisco in 1969--Included at least two in the Mission District, one of which was near the American Indian Center.

San Jose, Santa Clara Valley, and Surrounding Areas

American Indian Baptist Church--An extension of the Oakland Church begun in 1956-1957. (See the American Indian Baptist Church under Oakland-Alameda.)

San Jose Dance Club--Begun in 1958. Pow Wow style dancing, including practice for Pow Wow competition. Sponsors and helps organize local Bay Area Pow Wows.

American Indian Alcoholics Anonymous--Founded in 1961. The success of this organization is often studied by persons interested in initiating similar groups.

American Indian Council of Santa Clara Valley--Founded in 1961. Sponsors at least one monthly Pow Wow in Saratoga or San Jose, and sometimes additional Pow Wows during the summer. Holds frequent Indian Arts, Crafts, and Food Markets in Saratoga. Many other activities and services.

United American Indian Center of San Jose--Founded in the mid-1960's. Social and service center with a monthly bulletin titled Smoke Signals. Keeps in close touch with the Intertribal Friendship House in East Oakland, publishing its activities in the IFH monthly newsletter. The Center likewise keeps in close touch with the Oakland American Indian Association, the San Francisco Indian Center, Intramural Indian Sports Events, and other important Indian organizations and activities in the Bay Area. Sponsors many social events, including a weekly Youth Night, sports tournaments, dinners, talent shows, bingo, all-Indian rock and roll dances, at least one monthly Pow Wow in San Jose, and additional Pow Wows in the San Jose area during the summer. Is also an information clearinghouse and referral center for urban agencies and resources.

American Indian Traditional Committee--Founded in the mid-1960's. Sponsors a monthly Pow Wow in Cupertino, plus other activities.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 12

American Indian Women's Arts and Crafts Club of Hayward, San Lorenzo, and Castro Valley--Founded in 1969. Weekly meetings at the Castro Valley YWCA.

Native Bars in San Jose in 1969--Included at least three in the downtown area.

Statewide Organizations with Influence in the Bay Area

California League for American Indians--Incorporated in 1957 as a non-profit association of Indians and non-Indians which could act as a coordinating body and information clearing-house for efforts to advance and promote the health, education, social status, and general welfare of all Indian people in the United States. Issues publications in these areas, and lobbies politically at the State and federal levels for improvement in these areas.

Intertribal Council of California--Started in 1966 and officially implemented in 1968. Sacramento-based, statewide political organization with considerable influence in the Bay Area. Has occasionally recruited leadership from the Bay Area, including leaders from the Intertribal Friendship House and the Oakland American Indian Association. Sometimes acts as a political spring board for individuals who later gain positions in national Indian politics, or who secure federal government appointments. Publishes a newsletter titled The Tribal Spokesman, first issued in November of 1968. Sponsors summer camping programs for Indian children, and lobbies for political legislation and the legal rights of Indian people at both the state and federal levels. Many other services and activities. Initially funded by the United States Office of Economic Opportunity.

APPENDIX VI, Continued, page 13

Indian Affairs Commission of the Northern California-Nevada Council of Churches--Sponsors a summer camping program for Indians and non-Indians which hires college-age Indian youth as camp counsellors, and offers scholarships for Indian children so that they may attend the camp.

N.B. Important information on the growth of Pan-Indianism, urban Indian community activities, and Indian political organizations can be gained by comparing the above data for 1969 with Ablon, 1964, p. 299 (information for 1961-1963).

APPENDIX VII

POPULATIONS OF MINORITY STUDENTS ATTENDING BOTH THE OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA UNIFIED DISTRICT PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING THE 1968-1969 SCHOOL YEAR

Oakland Unified Public Schools

Total School Population: 63,923

Total Minority Population: 44,227 (69.19% of school total)

	Number	Per cent of School Total	Per cent of School Minority
Blacks:	35,346	55.29	79.92
Orientals:	3,326	5.20	7.52
Spanish-American surnames:	5,241	8.20	11.85
American Indians:	314	0.49	0.71

Source: October, 1968 Oakland Unified School System report under the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights. Elementary and secondary school survey required under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Oakland, California, Oakland Unified Public Schools.

N.B.: Due to difficulties in distinguishing American Indians from those with Spanish-American surnames (and other minorities), 314 Indian students may have represented an underenumeration. 1970 U.S. Census figures based on a 20% sample estimated 2,929 Indian students in grades K-12 in the San Francisco-Oakland Public Schools, and another 138 Indian students enrolled in grades K-12 in private schools in that area. The same source estimated 1,207 Indian students in grades K-12 in public schools, and another 65 in grades K-12 in private schools in San Jose (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1973b:140), APPENDIX VII, Continued, Page 2

Richmond Unified District Public Schools

Total School Population: 43,130

Total Minority Population: 14,263 (33.07% of school total)

	Number	Per cent of School Total	Per cent of School Minority
Blacks:	10,424	24.17	73.08
Orientals:	1,527	3.54	10.71
Spanish-American surnames:	2,253	5.22	15.80
American Indians:	59	0.14	0.41

Source: "School Minority in Contra Costa County." *The Oakland Tribune*, January 20, 1969, p. 35.

APPENDIX VIII

INTERVIEW FORM

(Space provided on the original interview form for recording information has been collapsed)

1. NUMBER OF SUBJECT:
2. NAME:
3. AGE:
4. BIRTHDATE:
5. SEX:
6. ADDRESS:
7. EXAMINER:
8. TEST DATE(S):
9. GRADE:
10. SCHOOL:
11. SCHOOL OFFICIAL:

12. SOURCES OF INFORMATION: School records, interviews with the student, classroom observation (some cases), teachers, school officials, parents (some cases):

13. PREVIOUS TEST RESULTS: (if any, from school records);

Test	Date	Grade	Age	Score

14. THE STRONG VOCATIONAL INTEREST BLANK (Women's Form W and Men's Form M):
The Strong Vocational Interest Blank is considered one of the most valid tests in existence, and is intended for persons who have reached the Grade Twelve level and age of High School or above, and whose minimum standard intelligence test score is 105, or five points above average. In addition, the Strong is designed for individual advisory situations with an experienced counsellor. Its scores therefore have little meaning when "averaged".

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 2

14. THE STRONG VOCATIONAL INTEREST BLANK, Continued

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONAL SCALES (WOMEN'S FORM W)

1. Artist
2. Author
3. Librarian
4. English Teacher
5. Social Worker
6. Psychologist
7. Social Science Teacher
8. YWCA Secretary
9. Lawyer
10. Life Insurance Saleswoman
11. Buyer
12. Business Education Teacher
13. Office Worker
14. Stenographer-Secretary
15. Housewife
16. Elementary Teacher
17. Home Economics Teacher
18. Dietician
19. Physical Education Teacher: High School
20. Physical Education Teacher: College
21. Occupational Therapist
22. Physical Therapist
23. Nurse
24. Math-Science Teacher
25. Dentist
26. Laboratory Technician
27. Physician
28. Musician
29. Music Teacher
30. Engineer
31. Femininity-Masculinity

MEN'S OCCUPATIONAL SCALES (MEN'S FORM M)

1. Artist
2. Psychologist
3. Architect
4. Physician
5. Psychiatrist
6. Osteopath
7. Dentist
8. Veterinarian
9. Mathematician
10. Physicist
11. Engineer
12. Chemist
13. Production Manager
14. Farmer
15. Aviator
16. Carpenter
17. Printer
18. Math-Science Teacher
19. Policeman
20. Army Officer
21. Forest Service
22. YMCA Physical Director
23. Personnel Director
24. Public Administrator
25. Vocational Counselor
26. YMCA Secretary
27. Social Science Teacher
28. Physical Therapist
29. City School Superintendent
30. Social Worker
31. Minister
32. Musician
33. Music Teacher
34. C.P.A. Partner
35. Senior C.P.A.
36. Junior Accountant
37. Office Worker
38. Credit Manager
39. Purchasing Agent
40. Business Education Teacher
41. Banker
42. Mortician
43. Pharmacist
44. Sales Manager
45. Real Estate Salesman
46. Life Insurance Salesman
47. Advertising Man
48. Lawyer
49. Author-Journalist
50. President, Mfg. Concern
51. Occupational Level
52. Specialization Level
53. Masculinity-Femininity
54. Interest Maturity

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 3

15. Relatives with whom student living:
16. Birthplace of student:
17. Tribal affiliation(s) of student:
18. Clan affiliation(s) of student:
19. Reservations lived on by student:
20. Date left reservation and destination:
21. Reason left reservation and method of relocation:
22. Languages spoken by student:
23. Date student began learning English:
24. Place student began learning English:
25. Date student began learning ___________:
26. Persons who taught student ___________:
27. Languages spoken at student's current residence:
    a) __________________ _____% of time
    b) __________________ _____% of time
28. Indian schools attended by student:
    Grade Date School Location
29. Voluntary associations with which student affiliated:
    Association Date Role Location Length of Affiliation
30. Tribal activities:
31. Pan-Indian activities:

FATHER OF STUDENT:

32. Birthplace:
33. Tribal affiliation(s):
34. Clan affiliation(s):
35. Reservations lived on by father:
36. Date left reservation and destination:
37. Reason left reservation:
38. Method of relocation:
39. Languages spoken by father and % of time:
40. Date began learning English:
41. Place began learning English:
42. Date began learning ___________:
43. Persons who taught father ___________:
44. Highest level of education/training achieved by father:
45. Indian schools and other schools attended by father:
    Grade Date School Location
45a. Military experience of father:
46. Occupations of father (including present occupation):
    Occupation Rank Dates Location
47. Voluntary associations with which father affiliated:
    Association Date Role Location Length of Affiliation
47a. Tribal activities:
47b. Pan-Indian activities:

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 4

MOTHER OF STUDENT:

48. Birthplace:
49. Tribal affiliation(s):
50. Clan affiliation(s):
51. Reservations lived on by mother:
52. Date left reservation and destination:
53. Reason left reservation:
54. Method of relocation:
55. Languages spoken by mother and % of time:
56. Date began learning English:
57. Place began learning English:
58. Date began learning __________:
59. Persons who taught mother __________:
60. Highest level of education/training achieved by mother:
    Grade Date School Location
61. Indian schools and other schools attended by mother:
    Grade Date School Location
62. Occupations of mother (including present occupation):
    Occupation Rank Dates Location
63. Voluntary associations with which mother affiliated:
    Association Date Role Location Length of Affiliation
63a. Tribal activities:
63b. Pan-Indian activities:

OTHER ADULT RELATIVE LIVING WITH STUDENT, NUMBER ONE:

64. Relationship to student: a) Kin: b) Strategic:
65. Birthplace:
66. Tribal affiliation(s):
67. Clan affiliation(s):
68. Reservations lived on by Adult Relative Number 1:
69. Date left reservation and destination:
70. Reason left reservation:
71. Method of relocation:
72. Languages spoken by AR#1 and % of time:
73. Date began learning English:
74. Place began learning English:
75. Date began learning __________:
76. Persons who taught AR#1 __________:
77. Highest level of education/training achieved by AR#1:
78. Indian schools and other schools attended by AR#1:
    Grade Date School Location
79. Occupations of AR#1 (including present occupation and military):
    Occupation Rank Dates Location

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 5

80. Voluntary Associations with which AR#1 affiliated:
Association Date Role Location Length of Affiliation
80a. Tribal activities:
80b. Pan-Indian activities:

OTHER ADULT RELATIVE LIVING WITH STUDENT, NUMBER TWO:

(The nineteen questions in this section, or numbers 81-97b, are identical to the above nineteen questions numbered 64-80b under "Other Adult Relative Living with Student, Number One".)

MOTHER'S MOTHER (MoMo):

(The eighteen questions in this section, or numbers 98 through 113b, are identical to the above eighteen questions numbered 48-63b under "Mother of Student".)

MOTHER'S FATHER (MoFa):

(The eighteen questions in this section, or numbers 114-129b, are identical to the above nineteen questions numbered 32-47b under "Father of Student", with the exception that here, the question regarding military experience has been combined with the question regarding occupations.)

FATHER'S MOTHER (FaMo):

(The eighteen questions in this section, or numbers 130-145b, are identical to the above eighteen questions numbered 48-63b under "Mother of Student".)

FATHER'S FATHER (FaFa):

(The eighteen questions in this section, or numbers 146-161b, are identical to the above nineteen questions numbered 32-47b under "Father of Student", with the exception that here, the question regarding military experience has been combined with the question regarding occupations.)

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 6

162. CHILDREN OF MOTHER'S MOTHER AND MOTHER'S FATHER:

For each individual, in order of birth, and their spouse (spouse follows individual):

1) Age:
2) Sex:
3) Relationship, tribe, and clan:
4) Birthplace, and where met spouse:
5) Education and languages:
6) Occupation and military:
7) Current location:
8) Method of relocation:
9) Voluntary associations and Indian activities:
10) Children:

163. CHILDREN OF FATHER'S MOTHER AND FATHER'S FATHER:

(The outline of information for this question is identical to that for Question Number 162.)

164. SIBLINGS OF STUDENT (and any other young people living in the student's household):

(The outline of information for this question is identical to that for Question Number 162.)

165. Affiliation with urban Indian community activities for the student and other people with whom the student is living (including Pow Wows, the American Indian Baptist Church or other churches, United Bay Area Council or similar activities, Rock and Roll Dances, activities at the Intertribal Friendship House, the San Francisco Indian Center, and the San Jose Indian Center, Annual Indian Picnics and Pow Wows, Indian Sports Events, Ladies' Clubs, Indian arts and crafts activities, Indian bar-hopping, etc.)

1) Individual:
2) Relationship to student:
3) Activity:
4) Location:
5) Date of first attendance:
6) Frequency of previous attendance:
7) Frequency of attendance this year:

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 7

166. First major Indian community event attended by student:

1) Age of student:
2) Location of event:
3) Event and student's role:
4) Persons taking student and their participation:

167. Date when the student and/or the student's family first began travelling the Pow Wow circuit, and the frequency they now travel the circuit:

1) Date first travelled:
2) People who went:
3) Vehicle:
4) Itinerary:
5) Participation:
6) Frequency now travelled:

168. Date and itinerary for the last time the student and/or the student's family travelled the Pow-Wow circuit:

1) Date:
2) People who went:
3) Vehicle:
4) Itinerary:
5) Participation:

169. Frequency of trips back to the reservation:

1) Date:
2) People who go:
3) Reasons for trips:
4) Vehicle:
5) Who is visited, for how long, and activities while there:

170. Last trip back to the reservation:

1) Date:
2) People who went:
3) Reasons for trip:
4) Vehicle:
5) Where stayed, how long, and activities while there:

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 8

171. Participation of the student and the student's family in native religion, reservation ceremonies, and other traditional activities:

1) Participants:
2) Ceremonies and activities:
3) Roles:
4) Frequency:

172. RELATIVES IN OTHER CITIES:

(The outline of information for this question is identical to that for Question Number 162.)

173. Visits made by the student and the student's siblings to their home reservation and to see other urban relatives:

1) Date:
2) People going:
3) Location visited:
4) Relatives visited:
5) Length of visit:
6) Purpose of visit and activities while there:

174. Household duties of student and siblings (cooking, cleaning, driving, babysitting, care of own clothes and possessions, etc.):

175. Who buys most of the student's clothing and possessions?

176. Individuals contributing to the total family income:

1) Individual:
2) Relationship to student:
3) Occupation:
4) Contribution:

177. Travel experience of student (other than that mentioned above):

178. Personal appearance of student:

a) Physical type:
b) Dress:
c) Hair style:
d) Posture:
e) Voice level:
f) Ease of interaction:
g) Handicaps:
h) Right or left-handed:
i) Other:

APPENDIX VIII, Continued, page 9

179. Health information (school records, observation, direct questions):

180. Dietary preferences and practices of both the student and the student's family:

181. High school major of student and plans after graduation:

182. Extra-curricular activities:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Activity:
    5) Role:

183. Leadership potential:

184. Teacher comments regarding the student:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Location:
    5) Subject:
    6) Comment:

185. Citizenship:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Location:
    5) Subject:
    6) Citizenship:

186. Disciplinary action by schools with respect to the student:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Location:
    5) Reason:
    6) Action and commentary:

187. Attendance record:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Location:
    5) Record:

188. Grade record:

    1) Date:
    2) Grade:
    3) School:
    4) Location:
    5) Subject:
    6) Grade (Mark):
    7) Teacher comments:

APPENDIX IX

ESSAY QUESTIONS GIVEN TO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Spelling and grammar do not count here. What is most important is your ability to say what you think and to express how you feel. Please write at least one page on every question, and try to cover everything. You may write what you wish, because these essays will NOT be shown to the school. However, in the interest of good manners, please do not refer to anyone by name. Please use a new sheet of paper for each question.

1. "What school means to me."

    What do you like and dislike about school? What use is school?
    If you had a chance to quit, would you quit or go on to graduate? Why?
    What kind of teachers do you like best, and why do you like them?
    What kind of teachers do you dislike, and why?
    Which subjects do you like, and why?
    Which subjects do you dislike, and why?
    How do you think High School should be organized, run, and taught?

2. "What my family means to me."

    How do you feel about your family?
    What things do you do together that you especially like?
    If your family suddenly disappeared, how would you feel, and why?
    What would you do?

3. "What being Indian means to me."

    How does it feel to be an American Indian today?
    How does it feel to be from a Reservation and to be a member of your own tribe?
    What will the future offer you and others?

APPENDIX X

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS IN THE 1968-1969 BAY AREA PUBLIC SCHOOLS SAMPLE

(The Key to items in the Variables Column begins on page seven)

Number of Subject:	UNADJUSTED GROUP			PARTIALLY—ADJUSTED GROUP					
	1. (16)	2. (17)	3. (20)	4. (4)	5. (6)	6. (11)	7. (13)	8. (15)	9. (21)
Number of Variable:									
1.	D	D-	N(D)	C	C+	C-	C-	C	S(C)
2.	c	c	c	c	b/c	b	c/a	c	c
3.	a	a	a	a	c	b	c	a	a
4.	b	O(a)	a	a	a	b	b	b	a
5.	-	O(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
6.	+	O(-)	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
7.	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
8.	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
9.	-	O	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
10.	c	O	c	a	b	c	c	c	c

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 2

Number of Subject:	UNADJUSTED GROUP			PARTIALLY-ADJUSTED GROUP					
	1. (16)	2. (17)	3. (20)	4. (4)	5. (6)	6. (11)	7. (13)	8. (15)	9. (21)
Number of Variable:*									
11.	-	b	-	--	a	-	-	-	-
12.	c	O(-)	c	a	b	c	a	c	c
13.	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
14.	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
15.	9	HS	11	HSGd	8	9	6	9	11
16.	HSGd	Coll	-	HSGd	-	HSGd	HSGd	HSGd	-
17.	GS	-	none	GS	-	-	6	GS	none
18a.	11	GS	8	HSGd	HSGd	10	none	11	8
18b.	-	HSGd	GS	GS	6	HSGd	none	-	GS
19a.	-	GS	-	GS	-	Coll	none	-	-
19b.	-	GS	-	HSGd	-	-	HSGd	-	-
19c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	HSGd	-	-

*For the key to abbreviations for levels of schooling completed, see page six.

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 3

Number of Subject:	UNADJUSTED GROUP			PARTIALLY - ADJUSTED GROUP					
	1. (16)	2. (17)	3. (20)	4. (4)	5. (6)	6. (11)	7. (13)	8. (15)	9. (21)
Number of Variable:									
20.	GS	-	none	HSGd	HSGd	-	6	GS	none
21.	9	4	4	21	6	16	21	9	4
22.	2	0	1	6	2	3	2	2	1
23.	1	1	1	2	0	3	3	1	1
24.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
25.	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
26.	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
27.	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
28.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
29.	d	a	c	a	d	a	d	d	c
30.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
31.	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
32.	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 4

					ADJUSTED GROUP										
Number of Subject:	10. (1)	11. (2)	12. (3)	13. (5)	14. (7)	15. (8)	16. (9)	17. (10)	18. (12)	19. (14)	20. (18)	21. (19)	22. (22)	23. (23)	24. (24)
Number of Variable:															
1.	C	B-	B-	B	A-	C	B+	B	C	C	C	B+	S+ (C+)	Good- (B-)	Good+ (B+)
2.	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	c/a	c	a	a
3.	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	c	d	c	b	d	d
4.	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	a	a	b	b	b	b	b
5.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	O(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
7.	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
9.	-	-	+	-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
10.	a	c	a	b	c	b	b	b	c	a	a	c	a	a	c
11.	--	-	--	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	--	-	--	-	-
12.	b	-	b	-	-	b	b	b	-	b	b	c	--	c	c

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 5

					ADJUSTED GROUP										
Number of Subject:	10. (1)	11. (2)	12. (3)	13. (5)	14. (7)	15. (8)	16. (9)	17. (10)	18. (12)	19. (14)	20. (18)	21. (19)	22. (22)	23. (23)	24. (24)
Number of Variable:*															
13.	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
14.	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15.	none	GS	HSGd	2	HSGd	11	HSGd	HSGd	8	Coll	none	3	GS	HSGd	3
16.	GS	-	7	-	-	Coll	-	-	-	HSGd	HSGd	10	-	-	10
17.	none	Coll	HSGd	GS	-	none	-	-	none	GS	none	12	GS	none	11
18a.	none	8	8	HSGd	11	HSGd	10	10	6	8	none	10	GS	8	10
18b.	3	-	8	5	-	none	-	-	-	GS	10	-	GS	none	-
19a.	HSGd	Coll	8	-	-	-	Coll	Coll	HSGd	HSGd	-	-	-	-	-
19b.	-	-	HSGd	-	-	-	-	-	HSGd	-	-	-	-	-	-
19c.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	HSGd	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.	3	HS	HS	5	-	-	8	8	none	-	none	none	GS	GS	none

* The key to abbreviations for levels of schooling completed is on page six.

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 6

	ADJUSTED GROUP														
Number of Subject:	10. (1)	11. (2)	12. (3)	13. (5)	14. (7)	15. (8)	16. (9)	17. (10)	18. (12)	19. (14)	20. (18)	21. (19)	22. (22)	23. (23)	24. (24)
Number of Variable:															
21.	22	15	21	5	11	16	25	25	19	11	8	2	0	1	2
22.	3	10	6	2	1	7	9	9	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
23.	4	0	2	2	1	5	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
24.	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
25.	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
26.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
27.	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
28.	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
29.	d	d	c	e	d	e	b	d	e	c	e	c	e	e	e
30.	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−
31.	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
32.	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+

KEY to Levels of Schooling Completed: None--No School; Specific Number--Grade Completed; GS--Grade School Graduate; HS--Some High School; HSGd--High School Graduate; Coll--College.

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 7

KEY TO ITEMS IN THE VARIABLES COLUMN

Number of Variable:

1. Student's grade average for the 1968-1969 school year:

   High School Students:

   A = Excellent
   B = Above Average
   C = Average
   D = Below Average
   F = Failing

   Elementary School Students:

   E = Excellent
   G = Good (Above Average)
   S = Satisfactory (Average)
   N = Needs Improvement (Below Average)
   U = Unsatisfactory (Failing)

2. School attendance during the 1968-1969 school year:

   a. Steady
   b. Fair
   c. Truant

3. Frequency of recorded disciplinary actions by the school towards the student during the 1968-1969 school year:

   a. Frequent
   b. Occasional
   c. Seldom
   d. Never

4. Presence of Father (biological or effective social Father):

   a. Absent
   b. Present

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 8

Number of Variable:

4. Presence of Father, Continued

Father: Man living in the same household as the student and acting in the role of Father. Could be the biological Father, either the biological Father's male relative or the biological Mother's male relative (e.g. FaFa, FaBr, MoFa, MoBr, etc.), a male sibling, another male relative, or any other adult male.

5. Father alcoholic (drinks to the point of being personally disorganized).

6. Father working steadily.

7. Significant relationship with Father living at a distance.

8. Significant relationship with Mother's brother, regardless of the location of Mother's brother.

9. More than one Mother present in the student's household:

Mother: Woman living in the same household as the student and acting in the role of Mother. Could be the biological Mother, either the biological Mother's female relative or the biological Father's female relative (e.g. MoMo, MoSi, FaMo, FaSi, etc.), a female sibling, another female relative, or any other adult female.

10. Competency of Mothers (as Mothers):

   a. All Mothers competent
   b. One Mother competent
   c. Only Mother competent

11. Mother alcoholic:

   a. One Mother alcoholic
   b. Only Mother alcoholic

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 9

Number of Variable:

12. Employment status of Mothers:
    - a. All Mothers employed
    - b. One Mother employed
    - c. Only Mother employed

13. Significant relationship with Mother living at a distance.

14. Student was living in more than one household simultaneously.

15. Education-level of Father.

16. Education-level of other significant male living in the student's household.

17. Education-level of significant male relative living at a distance.

18. Education-levels of Mothers:
    - 18a. First Mother
    - 18b. Second Mother

19. Education-levels of other significant female relatives living in the student's household:
    - 19a. First Female
    - 19b. Second Female
    - 19c. Third Female

20. Education-level of significant female relative living at a distance.

21. Number of relatives with high school diplomas.

22. Number of relatives with college training.

23. Number of relatives who were professionals.

24. Student was working for pay, part-time or otherwise.

APPENDIX X, Continued, page 10

Number of Variable:

25. Student contributed to the family income, or was partially self-supporting, or both.

26. Student had significant family responsibilities around the home.

27. Student belonged to a significant Indian peer group.

28. Student belonged to a significant non-Indian peer group.

29. Student drank or used other drugs:

    a. Heavily
    b. Frequently
    c. Occasionally
    d. Seldom
    e. Never

30. Student participated in extra-curricular activities at school.

31. Books were present in the student's home when the student was a child. In the case of elementary school students, books were present in the home at the time of the study.

32. Parents or other relatives read to the student when the student was a child. In the case of elementary school students, the student was read to at the time of the study.

APPENDIX XI

STRONG VOCATIONAL INTEREST BLANK SCORES

TABLE I: FEMALES (WOMEN'S FORM W) N=22* (see page four)

N.B.: Scores of 45 and over are considered high scores (Strong and Campbell, 1966, p. 8). Note the columns where the number of high scores appear in brackets.

		OCCUPATIONS							
NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		1 Artist	2 Author	3 Librarian	4 English Teacher	5(+1) Social Worker	6 Psychol- ogist	7 Soc. Sci. Teacher	8 YWCA Secretary
1.	(1)	13	10	17	13	21	14	20	19
2.	(2)	31	28	26	28	34	26	20	15
3.	(5)	27	30	25	0	24	13	6	15
4.	(6)	37	28	31	3	20	13	6	15
5.	(7)	41	39	33	1	27	13	-5	15
6.	(8)	36	30	20	0	20	13	-3	15
7.	(9)	30	26	27	11	20	15	16	15
8.	(11)	35	31	27	0	20	13	-3	15
9.	(12)	25	19	21	0	24	13	6	15
10.	(13)	18	15	19	9	20	15	14	24
11.	(15)	25	15	19	3	20	13	4	15
12.	(16)	17	11	17	0	21	13	-3	15
13.	(18)	12	7	21	3	20	13	16	16
14.	(26)	22	21	17	13	24	13	12	15
15.	(27)	17	16	18	16	29	29	27	24
16.	(28)	21	14	17	8	23	13	12	15
17.	(29)	24	25	17	36	51	39	29	25
18.	(30)	29	23	25	11	20	13	6	15
19.	(31)	25	10	17	11	20	13	10	15
20.	(32)	27	27	31	9	23	13	18	15
21.	(33)	25	17	19	11	20	13	16	15
22.	(34)	10	7	17	0	20	13	1	15

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 2

TABLE I: FEMALES

OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		9 Lawyer	10 Life Ins. Saleswmn.	11(+1) Buyer	12(+3) Bus. Educ. Teacher	13(+12) Office Worker	14(+10) Steno-Sec.	15(+12) House-wife	16(+4) Elem. Teacher
1.	(1)	24	19	33	43	52	43	49	45
2.	(2)	25	9	20	30	39	42	38	39
3.	(5)	13	18	33	35	42	42	46	29
4.	(6)	15	10	34	35	47	39	46	41
5.	(7)	15	19	30	17	39	34	34	21
6.	(8)	11	12	34	35	50	39	44	33
7.	(9)	15	7	16	28	36	27	39	27
8.	(11)	17	16	37	31	44	48	32	24
9.	(12)	21	15	34	43	51	45	50	38
10.	(13)	28	32	29	37	45	39	45	40
11.	(15)	12	4	37	41	59	57	51	35
12.	(16)	13	19	41	40	55	54	56	41
13.	(18)	21	18	26	51	60	52	58	41
14.	(26)	13	16	39	31	41	46	44	43
15.	(27)	24	12	16	27	33	27	38	32
16.	(28)	5	5	20	38	44	42	51	46
17.	(29)	33	16	18	22	21	31	29	35
18.	(30)	16	16	26	36	52	48	42	41
19.	(31)	7	1	19	46	47	45	48	46
20.	(32)	17	15	23	42	49	45	44	39
21.	(33)	23	10	26	30	42	43	45	40
22.	(34)	11	22	50	55	63	53	56	45

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 3

TABLE I: FEMALES

OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		17 Home Econ. Teacher	18 Dieti-cian	19(+1) Phys.Ed. Teacher: H.S.	20 Phys.Ed. Teacher: College	21(+1) Occupa-tional Therapist	22(+3) Physical Therapist	23(+1) Nurse	24 Math-Sci. Teacher
1.	(1)	37	40	23	25	31	35	31	34
2.	(2)	18	15	35	41	33	45	26	30
3.	(5)	22	25	27	25	15	26	19	20
4.	(6)	22	20	27	25	13	21	15	27
5.	(7)	5	14	16	25	22	32	17	12
6.	(8)	14	20	25	25	11	19	8	25
7.	(9)	23	25	36	25	31	42	26	36
8.	(11)	5	20	18	25	11	18	6	16
9.	(12)	22	22	22	25	26	35	10	27
10.	(13)	24	28	23	25	18	26	24	36
11.	(15)	33	38	22	25	35	26	21	28
12.	(16)	39	42	23	25	33	36	28	24
13.	(18)	28	35	25	25	27	33	31	44
14.	(26)	30	22	32	25	33	31	37	17
15.	(27)	30	34	40	29	24	46	51	39
16.	(28)	39	35	38	28	38	38	37	31
17.	(29)	30	24	33	42	47	43	33	17
18.	(30)	16	17	32	25	20	29	24	28
19.	(31)	40	31	49	33	40	46	37	39
20.	(32)	12	15	23	25	11	19	6	37
21.	(33)	31	24	41	25	33	38	35	25
22.	(34)	37	40	28	25	38	31	28	30

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 4

TABLE I: FEMALES

OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		25 Dentist	26 Laboratory Technician	27 Physician	28 (+1) Musician	29 (+1) Music Teacher	30 Engineer	31 Fem. Masc.
1.	(1)	24	22	15	29	27	34	44
2.	(2)	16	19	19	44	46	29	55
3.	(5)	22	27	24	22	16	23	44
4.	(6)	32	26	25	27	23	23	48
5.	(7)	26	26	28	44	25	23	44
6.	(8)	22	22	20	37	29	23	42
7.	(9)	36	35	34	17	15	23	35
8.	(11)	21	28	18	23	15	23	37
9.	(12)	18	22	20	29	25	23	46
10.	(13)	35	23	19	23	19	25	37
11.	(15)	25	40	15	28	18	23	44
12.	(16)	29	27	15	35	20	23	42
13.	(18)	28	35	15	19	15	31	26
14.	(26)	19	23	15	32	26	23	62
15.	(27)	39	37	33	17	15	23	44
16.	(28)	24	31	15	32	33	23	66
17.	(29)	15	14	18	45	43	23	62
18.	(30)	26	24	21	38	33	23	48
19.	(31)	24	27	15	25	26	26	53
20.	(32)	24	32	20	18	16	23	29
21.	(33)	21	23	15	34	27	24	51
22.	(34)	11	22	15	18	18	23	57

*The first thirteen subjects were high school females in the Public Schools Sample. The next nine subjects were randomly-selected young adult Indian females in the East San Francisco Bay Area who were tested between 1967 and 1969.

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 5

STRONG VOCATIONAL INTEREST BLANK SCORES

TABLE II: MALES (MEN'S FORM M) N=10** (see page eleven)

N.B.: Scores of 45 and over are considered high scores. (Strong and Campbell, 1966, p. 8). Note columns where the number of high scores appear in brackets.

OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		1 Artist	2(+1) Psychologist	3(+1) Architect	4(+1) Physician (rev.)	5(+1) Psychiatrist	6(+1) Osteopath	7 Dentist	8 Veterinarian
1.	(3)	29	18	29	18	18	28	32	36
2.	(4)	28	18	25	29	20	35	34	37
3.	(10)	32	40	29	43	37	37	34	28
4.	(14)	31	35	27	43	36	46	34	37
5.	(17)	23	48	25	55	48	41	28	32
6.	(19)	13	27	23	30	34	31	24	33
7.	(35)	29	18	33	17	22	24	32	21
8.	(36)	28	25	31	32	25	34	40	33
9.	(37)	41	27	35	34	36	38	34	19
10.	(38)	44	23	47	33	29	32	37	18

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 6

TABLE II: MALES

OCCUPATIONS

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		9 Mathematician	10 Physicist	11 (+1) Engineer	12 Chemist	13 (+1) Production Manager	14 (+4) Farmer	15 (+4) Aviator	16 (+5) Carpenter
1.	(3)	24	16	24	23	34	53	44	55
2.	(4)	9	16	22	17	35	50	46	52
3.	(10)	38	28	22	30	17	27	19	12
4.	(14)	21	19	24	36	31	41	46	26
5.	(17)	37	28	30	41	24	42	42	28
6.	(19)	17	17	31	35	42	46	48	52
7.	(35)	21	22	38	26	42	44	40	50
8.	(36)	31	30	38	33	32	54	48	48
9.	(37)	11	16	24	25	44	26	29	30
10.	(38)	25	31	48	41	49	25	32	39

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 7

TABLE II: MALES

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		OCCUPATIONS							
		17(+6) Printer	18(+2) Math-Sci. Teacher	19(+3) Police-man	20 Army Officer	21(+1) Forest Service	22(+1) YMCA Phys. Director	23 Personnel Director	24(+1) Public Admin.
1.	(3)	58	41	43	23	28	32	14	21
2.	(4)	59	33	50	23	31	28	15	17
3.	(10)	35	39	24	17	10	24	15	26
4.	(14)	48	37	41	30	27	34	27	36
5.	(17)	48	54	36	36	36	38	35	41
6.	(19)	50	52	52	44	45	47	38	47
7.	(35)	38	35	43	31	38	30	31	33
8.	(36)	54	42	50	17	28	28	15	23
9.	(37)	35	16	22	18	8	20	25	32
10.	(38)	43	22	29	17	15	15	22	23

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 8

TABLE II: MALES

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		OCCUPATIONS							
		25 Vocatn'l Counselor	26 YMCA Sec.	27 Soc.Sci. Teacher	28(+3) Physical Therapist	29 City School Superin-tendent	30 Social Worker	31 Minister	32(+2) Musician
1.	(3)	26	19	34	34	9	19	17	43
2.	(4)	26	26	27	42	1	22	16	42
3.	(10)	39	19	37	34	31	33	22	45
4.	(14)	36	21	32	47	15	33	17	39
5.	(17)	42	32	40	56	34	41	36	49
6.	(19)	44	42	40	56	22	38	31	39
7.	(35)	24	21	20	33	17	19	21	33
8.	(36)	29	19	29	40	10	20	19	40
9.	(37)	26	14	21	26	10	28	19	38
10.	(38)	11	7	5	20	5	17	21	42

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 9

TABLE II: MALES

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		OCCUPATIONS							
		33 Music Teacher	34 C.P.A. Partner	35(+2) Senior C.P.A.	36 Junior Accountant	37 Office Worker	38(+1) Credit Manager	39 Purchasing Agent	40(+1) Bus. Educ. Teacher
1.	(3)	26	10	32	28	39	25	30	32
2.	(4)	24	3	34	23	37	34	27	31
3.	(10)	37	33	22	17	25	20	16	29
4.	(14)	26	19	35	19	31	32	21	35
5.	(17)	39	33	56	33	35	38	9	43
6.	(19)	37	10	49	35	39	47	28	47
7.	(35)	26	10	29	24	26	25	27	23
8.	(36)	20	12	37	26	31	26	25	30
9.	(37)	26	25	16	12	15	20	28	20
10.	(38)	17	26	24	19	28	15	32	20

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 10

TABLE II: MALES

NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)		OCCUPATIONS						
		41 Banker	42 Mortician	43(+1) Pharmacist	44 Sales Manager	45 Real Estate Salesman	46 Life Ins. Salesman	47(+1) Advertizing Man
1.	(3)	38	37	33	20	34	19	30
2.	(4)	34	43	34	25	41	23	28
3.	(10)	29	24	45	19	32	25	35
4.	(14)	27	30	42	22	38	25	28
5.	(17)	23	17	22	11	21	11	21
6.	(19)	26	37	31	22	27	17	18
7.	(35)	26	22	21	25	31	21	28
8.	(36)	36	25	25	14	26	13	19
9.	(37)	18	39	42	35	43	39	45
10.	(38)	16	28	28	28	36	29	44

APPENDIX XI, Continued, page 11

TABLE II: MALES

	OCCUPATIONS						
NUMBER OF SUBJECT (in brackets)	48 Lawyer	49 Author-Journalist	50(+2) Pres. Mfg. Concern	51 Occupat. Level	52 Specialization Level	53 Masc. Fem.	54 Interest Maturity
1. (3)	20	29	23	34	23	48	39
2. (4)	17	27	24	31	18	49	46
3. (10)	43	40	28	54	35	36	48
4. (14)	30	31	21	42	35	52	46
5. (17)	28	29	7	41	50	48	58
6. (19)	8	15	21	33	40	56	59
7. (35)	19	26	24	45	33	48	50
8. (36)	22	28	19	35	28	59	46
9. (37)	38	44	48	60	45	40	44
10. (38)	32	44	55	56	38	40	44

**The first six subjects were high school males in the Public Schools Sample. The next four subjects were randomly-selected young adult Indian males in the East San Francisco Bay Area who were tested between 1967 and 1969.

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